

THE CONCEPT OF REGENERATION
IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

A Thesis

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By

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PREFACE

There has not been written a single thorough research work exclusively on the concept of regeneration and purporting to cover the entire New Testament in over fifty years. The last work of this nature was P. Gennrich's Die Lehre von der Wiedergeburt, published in 1907. Hence there was a need for a research project on this subject.

In attempting such a research project on "The Concept of Regeneration in the New Testament," it was necessary to define what was meant by "concept." Accordingly, the word "concept" is defined in this dissertation as "an idea that includes all that is characteristically associated with or suggested by a term." To further determine the boundaries of this investigation, it should be noted that the Greek word which is equivalent to the English term "regeneration" is *παλιγγενεσία*. This term has as its basic meaning "beginning again." In this thesis the definition "beginning again" shall be taken as the bedrock connotation of the concept of regeneration. Starting with this connotation it can be demonstrated what ideas are associated with or suggested by this term. Generally speaking, it shall become evident that the concept of regeneration in the New Testament contains three basic metaphors: new birth, new creation, and spiritual resurrection.

In pursuing a study of regeneration in the New Testament, it quickly became apparent that every significant author related this concept to either

or both the Hellenistic and Judaic circle of ideas in the first Christian century. Moreover, there were so many conflicting points of view among the major authors that I turned to my first major advisor, the late Professor William Manson, for guidance. His suggestion was that I should "work through Reitzenstein carefully." As an outgrowth of this study it seemed necessary to divide the dissertation into two major parts. The first part deals with the ideas of regeneration outside of the New Testament which could have had an influence on the concept as it occurs in the New Testament. To study the ideas relating to regeneration which are found in the ancient world appeared to be the only way to unravel the tangled web of assertion and counter-assertion which confused the issue of the background of regeneration in the New Testament.

For this reason, Chapter I deals with the Hellenistic background of regeneration. This includes a study of the concept as it is found in early Greek usage, in Stoic philosophy and in the mystery religions. In Chapter II there is a discussion of the concept in the Judaic environment. This means that the idea is treated in each of the following areas: the Old Testament, Rabbinic Judaism, Philo Judaeus, the Qumran literature, and the Apocalyptic literature. In a study of other topics in the New Testament this background material would hardly be necessary, but in reference to regeneration it is a necessity. There is also included in Chapters I and II a comparison of each area of study with the thought of the New Testament. Therefore, Part I contains material which is definitely related to New Testament thought.

In Part II of the dissertation there is a discussion of the major passages in the New Testament which deal with the concept of regeneration.

Chapters III, IV, V and VI treat respectively the idea of regeneration as it is found in the Synoptic Gospels, The Pauline and deutero-Pauline literature, the General Epistles and the Johannine writings. This thesis does not approach these writings from the point of view of the psychology of conversion. The aim of this study is to ascertain the meaning of the major passages on regeneration from the point of view of Biblical theology. Certain factors will be brought out concerning the underlying unity of the concept and some development in the expression of the idea. Chapter VII presents the general summary and conclusions of this study. All the Biblical quotations which appear are from the Revised Standard Version, unless otherwise indicated. The Greek references are from Nestle's Novum Testamentum Graece (20. Auflage, 1950).

I would like to acknowledge indebtedness to my advisors. The late Professor William Manson suggested the thesis topic and guided the early part of the investigation. Professor James S. Stewart, who became my major advisor after the death of Professor Manson, has been most helpful and his influence will be everywhere apparent. Professor Allan Barr has carefully examined sections of this dissertation. In addition, I wish to thank Professor Hugh Anderson of Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, for offering suggestions concerning this study. Of the libraries consulted, I would like to express my appreciation to the libraries of New College, the Central Library of the University of Edinburgh, and the Duke University Library.

There are others to whom I am not ungrateful. I would like to thank my aunt and uncle, Mr. and Mrs. A. T. Trader, who first made my graduate study possible. In addition, I must recognize my parents without

whose understanding and support this work would not have been completed.
Finally, I acknowledge the contribution of my devoted wife and children
to the success of this study by dedicating the dissertation to them.

M.V.M.

March, 1963

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LIST OF PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

- A.J.T. -- The American Journal of Theology.
- Bab. Tal. -- The Babylonian Talmud.
- Cam. B. -- The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.
- E.R.E. -- The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.
- E. T. -- English translation.
- Exp. T. -- The Expository Times.
- H.z.N.T. -- Handbuch zum Neuen Testament.
- H.T.R. -- The Harvard Theological Review.
- I. B. -- The Interpreter's Bible, ed. George A. Buttrick.
- I.C.C. -- The International Critical Commentary.
- I.F.G. -- The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel by C. H. Dodd.
- J.B.L. -- Journal of Biblical Literature.
- J.T.S. -- Journal of Theological Studies.
- L.C.L. -- The Loeb Classical Library.
- M.N.T.C. -- The Moffatt New Testament Commentary.
- N.T.S. -- New Testament Studies.
- R. B. -- Revue Biblique.
- S.J.T. -- The Scottish Journal of Theology.
- S. T. -- Studia Theologica (Lund).
- T.W.N.T. -- Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.
- Z.A.W. -- Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
- Z.Th. K. -- Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.

PART I

**REGENERATION OUTSIDE OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT**

REGENERATION OUTSIDE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Introduction

In studying some topics relating to the New Testament, it would not be worthwhile to consider in detail the use of the idea in the Hellenistic and Jewish thought. Yet, there are other topics relating to the New Testament in which it seems imperative to investigate the concept as used in the pre-Christian environment. The concept of regeneration is one of those ideas used in the primitive Christian church which requires a study of its usage outside of the New Testament.

Most every significant writer who considers the idea of regeneration ponders its usage in the Hellenistic and/or Judaistic milieu. Often one great scholar will affirm that the Hellenistic background is the origin of the New Testament idea, while another outstanding writer will declare that the source of the concept was probably the Judaistic environment. For this reason, the background of the idea of regeneration takes on a particular importance in relation to its influence on the New Testament usage. Therefore, the present writer has searched for the roots of the concept by a detailed study of the idea in the background environment. It has been our purpose to weigh the idea as found in each of these areas and to posit some data relating to the possible influence of these areas upon the concept of regeneration in the New Testament. To this study of the background we now turn.

CHAPTER I

THE HELLENISTIC BACKGROUND OF REGENERATION

THE HELLENISTIC BACKGROUND OF REGENERATION

I. EARLY USAGE OF PALINGENESIA

The Greek noun translated "regeneration" in the New Testament is παλιγγενεσία.¹ This term occurs only in Matthew 19:28 and Titus 3:5. P. Genrich² suggests that the origin of the word may be seen perhaps in Plato's use of πάλιν γίγνονται in Phaedo 70 C.³ However, the earliest occurrence⁴ of the term is found in a quotation from Neanthes (III B. C.) given in Theologumena Arithmeticae (p. 40 Ast.).

1. The word is derived from πάλιν and γένεσις, and the feminine form — σία replaces in composition the simple — σις. The Koine willingly writes παλιγγενεσία (Used by Tischendorf and Westcott & Hort). Cf. Friedrich Büchsel, "παλιγγενεσία," T.W.N.T., I, 685.

2. Die Lehre von der Wiedergeburt (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1907), p. 3.

3. In addition, Erwin Rohde cites Phaedo 70 C as an illustration that παλιγγενεσία seems to be the oldest fixed term for "transmigration of souls." Cf. Psyche, E. T. of 8th Ger. ed. by W. B. Hillis (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1925), p. 361, no. 84.

4. In opposition to W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich [A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Christian Literature, a translation and adaptation of W. Bauer's Wörterbuch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 611], F. Büchsel [T.W.N.T., I, 686] proves that the term is not used by Democritus (V B. C.), because its occurrence in Plutarch, Quaestionum convivalium, 8, 5 (722D) is not a quotation from Democritus. Cf. Hermann Diels, Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker (zweite auflage; Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1906), I, 413 (55. B. 158).

According to Liddell and Scott,⁵ παλιγγενεσία (palingenesia) occurs with four basic meanings: (1) rebirth, regeneration, of the world; (2) renewal of a race, of persons--beginning of a new life; (3) restoration after exile; (4) transmigration, reincarnation of souls.⁶ Perhaps Büchsel adds to our understanding of the word by expressing its definition as ". . . bedeutet also Widerentstehung und zwar: a. Rückkehr zum Dasein, Wiederkehr aus dem Tode zum Leben, b. Erneuerung zu einem höheren Sosein, Weidergeburt in dem uns geläufigen Sinne."⁷

The term is used by the Stoics in reference to their doctrine of rebirth of the world, which will be considered more in detail later. Both Philo's De Vita Mosis ii, 65 and I Clement 9:4 make use of palingenesia in their descriptions of the renewal of the world after the Deluge through Noah and his sons.

To express the regeneration of individual men in a new world period, the Greek word palingenesia is selected in preference to any Latin expression in a fragment of Terentius Varro (I B. C.)⁸ quoted by Augustine, De Divitate Dei XXII, 28. Another passage which brings to light the use of this term, having the meaning of rebirth of a person through metempsychosis,

5. H. G. Liddell and Robert Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon (revised by H. S. Jones; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), II, 1291.

6. In the sense of transmigration, palingenesia is used as a synonym for μετεμψυχῶσις in Nemesius, de natura hominis sec. 51, and in place of μετεμψυχῶσις in Servius' Commentary in Virgil's Aeneid 3, 68. Büchsel (T.W.N.T., I, 686) asserts that palingenesia is not used by the Pythagoreans; whereas, Liddell and Scott (op. cit., II, 1119) cited the quotation above in Servius as being by Pythagoras.

7. ". . . means therefore beginning again and indeed: a. return to existence, return from death to life, b. renewal to a higher being, rebirth in the sense familiar to us." Cf. T.W.N.T., I, 685. A.E.J. Rawlinson [The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1926), p. 144, n. 8] emphasizes that the word means properly "not 'new birth' but 'new beginning' or 'renewal'."

8. Roman numerals followed by B. C. or A. D. designate the century.

is contained in the spurious Epistulae IV, 4 of Heraclitus.⁹ Even Cicero in Ad Atticum VI, 6 describes his restoration to his lost dignities after exile as "ἡ ἀνὰ παλιγγενεσίαν nostram."¹⁰ Thus, his return from exile in 57 B. C. was considered by Cicero as a second birth into political position.

Its usage in the sense of national renewal, on the other hand, is found in Josephus, Jewish Antiquities XI, iii, 9. There we find an account of the joyful response among the Jews upon hearing that King Darius had guaranteed their return from Babylonia captivity.

On several occasions, Plutarch makes use of palingenesia. In reporting information concerning the myths of Osiris and Dionysus, he says: ". . . the accounts of the dismemberment of Osiris and his revivification [ἀναβίωσις] and regeneration [παλιγγενεσία]";¹¹ and ". . . of Dionysus . . . ; they construct destructions and disappearances, followed by returns to life and regenerations [παλιγγενεσία]."¹²

Furthermore, Plutarch employs this term to bring out details about the transmigration of souls in De esu carnium ii, 4 (998 C). At another point, the philosophical belief in the cyclical change and renewal of the

9. Rudolph Hercher (ed.), Epistolographi Graeci, (Paris: A. F. Didot, 1873), p. 282. Cited by W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, op. cit., p. 611. The Epistles are dated by Jacob Bernays [Die Heraklitischen Briefe (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1869), pp. 4 and 26] as probably from the I A. D. and not later than the middle of the II A. D.

10. Translated "my political renaissance" in Letters to Atticus, trans. E. O. Winstedt, L.C.L., I, 474-475.

11. Plutarch, De Iside et Osiris 35 (364 F) in Moralia, trans. F. C. Babbitt, L.C.L., V, 87. (Greek insertions mine.)

12. Plutarch, De E apud Delphos 9 (389 A) in Moralia, V, p. 223. Cf. also De esu carnium I, 7 (996 C) for a similar thought using the same term.

universe is alluded to by stating in De defectu oracularum 51 (438 D):

"And there are some who assert that the things above the moon also do not abide, but give out as they confront the everlasting and infinite, and undergo continual transmutations and rebirths [παλιγγενεσία]."¹³

Finally, Lucian of Samosata (II A. D.) gives an interesting metaphor to express his view of transmigration. In Muscae laudatio (or Muscae Encomium) 7, he states: "When ashes are sprinkled on a dead fly, she revives and has a second birth [παλιγγενεσία] and a new life from the beginning. This should absolutely convince everyone that the fly's soul is immortal like ours, since after leaving the body it comes back again, recognizes and reanimates it, and makes the fly take wing."¹⁴

From this summary of some of the most important early usages, several conclusions may be derived. First, the word was originally used in the cosmic sense; and, from Varro and the Heraclitian Epistulae, it is noticed that palingenesia has preserved an individual meaning close beside its initial significance. Then, we learn from Josephus that the word can be employed in a national sense, whereas before this time it could be established only in the cosmic or individual connotation.

Cicero's use of the term, moreover, demonstrates that early palingenesia has gone forth from the language of the Stoic philosophers into the vocabulary of the educated classes. Thus, it naturally comes to have a wider application; whereby, in Ad Atticum VI, 6, palingenesia could designate a current event. From Cicero onward, this word has gained the "carry-over" meaning in which it expresses the following thought: after a

13. Moralia, V, 501. (Insertion mine.)

14. Lucian, trans. A. M. Harmon, L.C.L., I, 89. (Insertion mine.)

position of restriction of life, liberation from the pressure occurs which is perceived as a joyful feeling and as a transfer into the position of a new existence.¹⁵

15. P. Gennrich, op. cit., p. 4.

II. REGENERATION IN STOIC PHILOSOPHY

In a discussion of regeneration in Stoicism, there are two important aspects to be considered: (1) cyclical regeneration of the cosmos, and (2) rebirth of the individual person.

CYCLICAL REGENERATION OF THE WORLD

The cosmos, according to the Stoic physics, is composed of four elements: earth, water (both passive), air and fire (both active). These elements are in constant interchange, earth turning to water, this into air, and this into fire (or fire-like aether), and so again in reverse order. However, the universe is destined to perish. The interchange of the elements is not evenly balanced since the upward movement slightly exceeds the downward. Therefore, Zeno of Citium (III B. C.), the founder of the Stoa, states: "At certain destined periods of time the whole universe is turned to fire; then again it is once more constituted an ordered manifold world."¹ This belief in the process known as conflagration (*ἐκπύρωσις*) was adopted from Heraclitus.²

Zeno's teaching concerning the conflagration and renewal was carried on by two of his important followers, Cleanthes of Assos (Fragment 24)³ and Chrysippus of Soli. Chrysippus taught:

1. Zeno Fragment 98 in H. F. A. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1905), I, 27. E. T. by C. K. Barrett, The New Testament Background: Selected Documents (London: S.P.C.K., 1956), p. 62.

2. E. Vernon Arnold, Roman Stoicism (Cambridge: University Press, 1911), p. 190.

3. Cf. A. C. Pearson, The Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1891), p. 252.

. . . there will ultimately occur a conflagration of the whole world, because when the moisture has been used up neither can the earth be nourished nor will the air continue to flow, being unable to rise upward after it has drunk up all the water; thus nothing will remain but fire, by which, as a living being and a god, once again a new world may be created [ursum . . . renovatio mundi is equivalent to 'παλιγγενεσία' of the world']⁴ and the ordered universe be restored as before."
(Chrysippus Fragment 593)⁵

When everything has been set on fire, all living things will die, and the souls of the blest⁶ as well as the subordinate gods themselves (not Zeus, the highest god)⁷ will once more be absorbed in the Divine Fire, from which everything had originally come.

After the conflagration, there will follow the reconstruction of the world (called παλιγγενεσία, ἀποκατάστασις, or renovatio)⁸ which will lead again to a conflagration. In fact, the Divine Fire which finally remains is the seed (seminal principle) of the entire world

4. This Latin fragment is listed under παλιγγενεσία in M. Adler (comp.), Indices (Vol. IV of H. F. A. von Arnim, op. cit., 1924), p. 111.

5. H. F. A. von Arnim, op. cit., II, p. 183. E. T. in Cicero, De Natura Deorum, trans. H. Rackham, L.C.L., pp. 235 and 237 (II, 118). The brackets indicate my insertion.

6. "The souls of the good, the Stoics maintained, were destined to last until the end of the world, the souls of the bad to be extinguished before that time." Seneca, Epistulae Morales, trans. R. M. Gummere, L.C.L., I, 454.

7. Chrysippus Fragment 1049 in H. F. A. von Arnim, op. cit., II, 309 (Plutarch, De Stoicorum repugnantiis 38). "God was fire; and when the cosmos was constituted some fire turned into stuff." C. K. Barrett, The New Testament Background: Selected Documents, p. 62.

8. Also, ἀναγέννησιν κόσμου is employed in Chrysippus Fragment 620 in H. F. A. von Arnim, op. cit., II, 183 (Philo, De Aeternitate Mundi 8). However, ἀναγέννησις has not been proved as a technical term of Stoicism. Cf. F. Bücksel, "ἀναγεννάω," T.W.N.T., I, 672.

renovation. The period between one conflagration and the next is termed a "great year,"⁹ which is defined as the number of years necessary for the sun, moon, and planets all to return to their original stations.¹⁰ The formation of a new world corresponds exactly with the previous world so that every particular thing, every person, and every occurrence will be duplicated as it occurred in the world previously.¹¹

However, there were some distinguished members of the Stoic School during the Middle period (III-II B. C.) who did not believe in the periodical destruction of the world by fire. Boëthius Fragment 7 reveals:¹²

Thus Boëthius of Sidon and Panaetius, powerful supports of the Stoic doctrines, did under divine inspiration abandon the conflagrations and regenerations [παλιγενεσίν] and deserted to the more religious doctrine that the whole world was indestructible.

In addition, Zeno of Tarsus¹³ and Diogenes of Seleucia¹⁴ in later years

9. The concept of the "great year" and the belief that each new world exactly represents the preceding one appear to have been borrowed by the Stoics from the Pythagoreans. Cf. Eduard Zeller, The Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics, trans. O. J. Reichel (revised edition; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1892), p. 166, n. 2.

10. Cicero, De Natura Deorum, L.C.L., II, xx (p. 173).

11. Eduard Zeller (loc. cit.) asserts that the persons and things of the different world periods are not identical, but are without distinguishable differences. Thus, it is very doubtful that the true Stoic teaching believed as the Pythagoreans in the transmigration of souls, either within the limits of the current world period, or from one cycle to the next. Cf. A. D. Pearson, "Transmigration," E.R.E., XII, 434. Franz Cumont, The After Life in Roman Paganism (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1922), pp. 13-15.

12. H. F. A. von Arnim, op. cit., III, p. 266. E. T. in Philo, trans. F. H. Colson, L.C.L., IX, 239 (De Aeternitate Mundi 76).

13. Eusebius Pamphili, Praeparatio Evangelica, ed. Karl Mras (Vol. VIII, Part II of Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956), pp. 382-383 (XV, 18).

14. Philo, De Aeternitate Mundi, 77. Posidonius is generally considered orthodox in this matter although there are contradictory statements concerning his view. Cf. Eduard Zeller, op. cit., p. 168, n. 1.

doubted the cyclical conflagration of the universe. But after the death of Panaetius the Stoics returned to the older view.

The restoration of all things produces no advance.¹⁵ In fact, there is only a mere repetition of the past. The stars will move in their orbits without a single deviation from the former period. Every man without noticeable differences including Socrates and Plato will live again among his friends and enemies, and will experience the same activities in the cities and fields restored just as they were. This renovation of the world happens over and over again throughout all eternity. Since everything is repeated down to the small details, Marcus Aurelius is moved to comment on the fact that there will never be any new thing:¹⁶

. . . the rational Soul . . . comprehends the cyclical Regeneration [παλιγγενεσία] of all things, and takes stock of it, and discerns that our children will see nothing fresh, just as our fathers too never saw anything more than we.

To represent the Stoic conception of world renewal, palingenesia is used again and again.¹⁷ In Philo's De Aeternitate Mundi,¹⁸ the substantive

15. R. D. Hicks, Stoic and Epicurean (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910), pp. 34-35. Yet, Seneca holds both the cyclical concept of history and a view that the world would improve with time, which do not harmonize.

16. To Himself, trans. C. R. Haines, L.C.L., p. 293 (XI, 1). However, Haines (p. 412) is inclined to doubt that Marcus Aurelius believed in cyclical regenerations from what is said in Book X, 31.

17. Chrysippus Fragment 624 indicates that this Stoic philosopher has also used the verbal expression παλιν γίνεσθαι. H. F. A. von Arnim, op. cit., II, 189.

18. Some, notably Bernays, doubt Philo's authorship of this work; however, Cumont and Cohn defend it as Philonic. The question of authorship does not lessen its value for the history of Greek philosophy as an ancient account illustrating the controversy between the Stoics and Peripatetics. Even those who oppose Philo's authorship date the work in the first half of the first century A. D. Cf. further Joseph Dey, ΠΑΛΙΓΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ (XVII Band, 5 Heft of Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, ed. Max Meinertz; Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorffschen Buchdruckerei, 1937), p. 9.

is found nine times as a technical term for the renovation of the cosmos in the Stoic sense. F. H. Colson¹⁹ maintains that Philo appears to set forth vigorously the doctrine of the world as uncreated and indestructible (which he denounced in other works) only in order to present forcefully this side of the controversy. However, Philo intended, as he states at the close of the work (sec. 150), to expound at a later time the view that the cosmos was created and not eternal. Unfortunately, this approach was either not written or has long since been lost.

Therefore, De Aeternitate Mundi presents the arguments which endeavor to show that cyclical regeneration is not valid. Philo does not quote but uses the ideas and proofs which have been worked up in early books by the opponents of the Stoic view. By the frequent use of palingenesia in this work and in ancient fragments of the early Stoic philosophers, it becomes clear that the Stoics used this word as a technical term. In fact, some assert the word first appears in Greek literature to represent the Stoic concept of cyclical regenerations and it may have become significant from the Stoic stamp.²⁰

By way of summary, it is important to keep in mind that the Stoic renewal of the cosmos is meant only in the sense of "putting something together again"²¹ as the result of the unswerving operation of the decrees of destiny. Consequently, the renovation of the world brought with it all of the old evils and became a meaningless rotation in the weary round of human existence.

The Stoic concept of world regeneration may have passed over into

19. Philo, L.C.L., IX, 173-174.

20. J. T. Marshall, "Regeneration," E.R.E., X, 639. Also F. Büchsel, T.W.N.T., I, 685-686.

21. Joseph Dey, op. cit., p. 8.

Judaism; however, it suffered a shift in meaning. To the Stoics, the world-process was circular movement leading nowhere. On the other hand, the time-process in the Hebraic view of history comprised a series of unique events, being the realization of Divine purpose. The concept of time in Judaism can be symbolized by the upward sloping line with beginning and end in contrast to the view of Stoicism as represented by the circle. The divine purpose, according to Judaism, began with the Creation and proceeded with "mighty acts" of God to a final, future consummation; whereby there is brought in a new world in which God reigns supreme. Finally, Büchsel maintains that the Stoic conception of palingenesia underwent a Jewish shaping before it came to be used in Matthew 19:28 and Titus 3:5 colored by a Jewish-Christian eschatological content.²²

REBIRTH OF THE INDIVIDUAL PERSON

The Stoics not only believed in the cyclical regeneration of the world, but they also had a theory concerning the rebirth of individual men. When one turns from the Greek classical period to the beginning of the Christian era, a general change in tone among educated men may be noticed. This change is aptly described by Gilbert Murray as:²³

It is a rise of asceticism, of mysticism, in a sense, of pessimism; a loss of self-confidence, of hope in this life and of faith in normal human effort; a despair of patient inquiry, a cry for infallible revelation, an indifference to the welfare of the state, a conversion of the soul to God. . . . There is an intensifying of certain spiritual emotions; an increase of sensitiveness, a failure of nerve.

22. F. Büchsel, T.W.N.T., I, 688. These matters will be more fully considered in the sections dealing with Judaism, Matthew 19:28, and Titus 3:5.

23. Five Stages of Greek Religion (The Thinkers Library, No. 52; London: Watts & Co., 1935), p. 123. (*Italics mine.*)

Although Stoicism was a moral philosophy from the beginning, the earlier leaders engaged in speculative physics. During the Roman period, however, the study of physics withdrew into the background, while ethical interests became more and more predominant.

The Stoics came to consider themselves as physicians of the soul. They were messengers sent by God to show men what things are good and what evil, and where mankind has gone astray.²⁴ The lecture room was described as a hospital for sick souls.²⁵ Epictetus remarks further that the Stoic discourse should bring forth this response: "The Philosopher touches me to the quick: I must no longer act thus."²⁶ The first century A. D. was the height of the Stoic movement in which the wandering preachers were scattered everywhere in the streets and market-places of Asia Minor and Europe.²⁷ One of the major themes of their preaching was "the need for moral reformation and spiritual rebirth."²⁸

The disciples of the Stoa believed that all virtues are equally good, while all vices are equally bad.²⁹ This means that virtues and vices

24. Epictetus, The Discourses, III, 22, 23.

25. Ibid., III, 23, 30.

26. Ibid., III, 23, 37. E. T. by A. D. Nock, Conversion (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 178.

27. Shirley Jackson Case, The Evolution of Early Christianity (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1917), p. 279.

28. James S. Stewart, A Man In Christ (London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1935), p. 57.

29. Cicero, Paradoxa Stoicorum 3.

admit "no lowering or heightening of intensity."³⁰ Therefore, mankind is divided into two classes--those who are wise (virtuous) and those who are foolish (vicious). There is nothing intermediate between virtue and vice. The ones who possess virtue possess it completely and are perfect in every phase of life; while the ones who lack virtue lack it altogether and are "equally not in the path of right conduct."³¹ Whereas the Stoics denied that virtues or vices could be increased in degree, they did believe that both of them could be exercised on a larger or smaller scale.³²

As long as one had not yet attained virtue, he was still classified among the foolish. Whether one is near or far from possessing virtue was not important. This is vividly expressed by two illustrations in Chrysippus Fragment 539:³³

. . . as he who is not above a cubit under the superficies of the sea is no less drowned than he who is five hundred fathom deep, so they that are coming towards virtue are no less in vice than those that are farther off. And as blind men are still blind, though they shall perhaps a little after recover their sight; so these that have proceeded towards virtue, till such time as they have attained to it, continue foolish and wicked.

Thus, by the Stoic standard, almost all of mankind belongs to the class of the foolish.

In applying these absolute ideals to practical life, the teachers of the Stoa yielded to the fact that there may be progress from folly or

30. Diogenes Laertius, Lives of Eminent Philosophers, trans. R. D. Hicks, L.C.L., Vol. II, p. 207 (VII, 101).

31. Ibid., VII, 120 and 127.

32. Cicero, de Finibus Bonorum et Malorum, III, 15, 49.

33. H. F. A. von Arnim, op. cit., III, 143-144. E. T. in Plutarch's Morals, revised by William W. Goodwin, (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1874), IV, 380 (De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos 10). For similar metaphors compare H. F. A. von Arnim, op. cit., III, No. 530 (p. 142). The one striving and finally attaining virtue is like a puppy whose organ of sight had been developing for days, and all at once he gains the power of vision.

wickedness in the direction of wisdom or virtue.³⁴ They believed every man was born with a capacity for acquiring virtue. This capacity centered in their belief concerning the authoritative part of the soul (also called divine reason or the rational soul). To them, the authoritative part of the soul is of divine origin, and is a part of the great primal force, or God, making its home in the human body.³⁵ Its foundation is given at birth; but there must be growth within and association with rational beings before it is of any use. However, it does not even begin to function properly until a child is about seven years old.³⁶

This rational soul, or spark of deity within man, is the voice of the law of reason and nature. By living in constant obedience to the rational soul which keeps watch within, one is able to attain virtue.³⁷ The goal of virtue, however, can be reached only after the soul has been trained and taught, and by continual practice brought to perfection.³⁸ This training is carried out, according to Paul Wendland, by contemplation, introspection, and self-testing.³⁹ Accordingly, every night the one

34. Plutarch, Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus 12. There is a basic tension in Stoicism between the ideal and its application to life situations. Therefore, some of the absolute standards were modified to bring them into harmony with actual conditions. Cf. further Samuel Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1911) pp. 314-15.

35. Seneca, Epistulae Morales, LXVI, 12 and XXXI, 11.

36. E. Vernon Arnold, op. cit., p. 260.

37. Seneca, Epistulae Morales, XLI, 2.

38. Ibid., XC, 45-46.

39. Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur (Vol. I of H.z.N.T., second and third edition; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1912), p. 86.

striving toward virtue should examine all of his actions during the day.

During the period that precedes the attainment of virtue, there were states of the soul which resemble aspects of virtue. The one striving towards virtue, called "the probationer"⁴⁰ (προκόπτων, proficiens), must perform his duty regularly in every aspect and in harmony with nature. It was necessary for him to condemn his previous life and exercise a central act of will in grasping the offered privilege of wisdom. When he achieves an "abiding stability of mind,"⁴¹ he becomes one of the wise.

Thus, it is basically by learning and practice that one draws nearer to the goal of virtue, although the stages of progress are variously stated.⁴² Progress is not a midway point between vice and virtue; it is a long preparation⁴³ which is followed by the crowning moment when virtue is attained at last. Virtue is not reached by gradual addition of item to item, but is complete and absolute in itself.⁴⁴ Since the two moral states were at opposite extremes, the actual passage from one to the other was not gradual but instantaneous.⁴⁵

By a sudden and complete change a person is transferred from folly to wisdom. In fact, so rapidly does the transition take place that the

40. E. Vernon Arnold, op. cit., p. 294.

41. Seneca, Moral Essays, trans. John W. Basore, L.C.L., II, 213 (Dialogorum, IX, 2, 3).

42. Seneca, Epistulae Morales LXXV and XCV. Epictetus, The Discourses, IV, 11.

43. Epictetus, The Discourses, I, 15, 7-8.

44. Cicero, de Finibus Bonorum et Malorum, III, x, 34.

45. Plutarch, De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos 9.

one who has just become wise is at first unconscious of his new state.⁴⁶

Then again in a moment he passes on to an awareness of what he ought to do.

The moment when the foolish man becomes wise is different from all his

previous progress. Chrysippus Fragment 221 describes the change as: "The conversion, however, which leads to divine things, is effected by a change [μεταβολή], the soul being changed to wisdom."⁴⁷ That the conversion produced is considered fundamental may be seen from Seneca's Epistulae Morales:

I feel, my dear Lucilius, that I am being not only reformed, but transformed [transfigurari]. I do not yet, however, assure myself, or indulge the hope, that there are no elements left in me which need to be changed. . . . And indeed this very fact is proof that my spirit is altered into something better, --that it can see its own faults, of which it was previously ignorant. . . . I therefore wish to impart to you this sudden change in myself; . . . (VI, 1)⁴⁸

For one who has learned and understood what he should do and avoid, is not a wise man until his mind is metamorphosed [transfiguratus] into the shape of that which he has learned. (SCIV, 48)⁴⁹

The Stoics went so far as to say that a person who would be classified among the worst of men might take a nap after lunch and awaken to find himself in an instant a wise man being virtuous, happy, and having a perfect intellect.⁵⁰ On another occasion, the full grasp of philosophical

46. Ibid., 9 and 10.

47. H. F. A. von Arnim, op. cit., III, 52. E. T. in The Writings of Clement of Alexandria, trans. Rev. William Wilson (Vol. XII of Ante-Nicene Christian Library, ed. Rev. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1869), Vol. II, p. 151 (Stromata, IV, 6, 28). (Insertion mine.)

48. E. T. by Richard M. Gummere, L.C.L., I, 25. (Insertion mine.)

49. Ibid., III, 43. (Insertion mine.) Cf. also Seneca, Epistulae Morales, LIII, 8.

50. Plutarch, Compendium argumenti Stoicos absurdiora poetis dicere 4.

truth is compared to the initiatory rites of the cults.⁵¹ Marcus Aurelius makes use of terms which declare it to be a profound inward change. In To Himself IV, 3, Marcus Aurelius speaks of the result of contemplation:

"... thou canst at a moment's notice retire into thyself. . . . Make use then of this retirement continually and regenerate [$\alpha\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\hat{\upsilon}\nu$] thyself."⁵² Even stronger language is used in To Himself, VII, 2:

What is outside the scope of my mind has absolutely no concern with my mind. Learn this lesson and thou standest erect.

Thou canst begin a new life [$\alpha\upsilon\alpha\beta\iota\hat{\omega}\nu\alpha\iota$]! See but things afresh as thou used to see them; for in this consists the new life [$\alpha\upsilon\alpha\beta\iota\hat{\omega}\nu\alpha\iota$].⁵³

Considering the above discussion and quotations, we are prone to agree with Johannes Weiss that the Stoic belief "makes a genuine rebirth its goal."⁵⁴ They were conscious that a kind of rebirth was necessary before a man might attain this highest good. On several occasions, this new birth is represented as a decision involving a choice between two ways.⁵⁵

The one who attains the highest good brings himself into harmony with the whole of nature. Therefore, "to live virtuously is to live according to scientific knowledge of the phenomena of nature, doing nothing which the Universal Law forbids, which is the Right Reason which pervades all things, and is the same as Zeus, the Lord of the ordering of this world."⁵⁶ Virtue alone is sufficient for a happy life. And the possession

51. Seneca, Epistulae Morales, XC, 28.

52. E. T. by C. R. Haines, L.C.L., pp. 67 and 69. (Insertion mine.)

53. Ibid., p. 165.

54. The History of Primitive Christianity, trans. F. C. Grant and others (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1937), I, 235.

55. P. Wendland, Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur, p. 85.

56. Diogenes Laertius, Lives of Eminent Philosophers, vii, 87-88 (L.C.L., II, 195). Paraphrased by E. Vernon Arnold, op. cit., p. 283.

of virtue is independent of the deity.⁵⁷ One who possesses virtue is calm in the midst of dangers, unmoved by desires, and peaceful amid the storms of life. Actually, the wise man is in want of nothing, and yet has use for everything.

Although there are statements to the contrary, the general Stoic teaching declares that virtue cannot be lost.⁵⁸ If asked for examples of a wise man, the followers of the Stoa would point to Socrates, Diogenes or Antisthenes. However, they would readily admit that the wise man is as rare as the phoenix, only one in five hundred years.⁵⁹

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The Stoic belief concerning a new birth of the inner life becomes more clearly understood through a contrast with Christian teaching. The Stoic wise man was exempt from popular forms of worship because he could truly worship through contemplation. Without fear he maintained a reverent attitude toward God. However, the wise man need not obey God, but he follows the plan of God because he chooses to do so. In fact, God was conceived "as something general and static, remote from the individual, rather an enveloping aether."⁶⁰

There was no divine plan of salvation. Repentance was something blamable;; whereas, "not repenting" was considered as an ideal. To them,

57. Cicero, De Natura Deorum, III, xxxvi, 86-88.

58. Diogenes Laertius, pp. cit., vii, 127. Seneca, Epistulae Morales, I, 8.

59. Seneca, Epistulae Morales, XLII, 1 (L.C.L., I, 279).

60. Edwyn Bevan, Christianity (No. 157 of The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, eds. Gilbert Murray & G. N. Clark; London: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 10.

salvation was not concerned so much with guilt and sin, but with the deliverance of the divinely-given rational soul from bondage to the body and its reunion with the divine world.⁶¹ Since there was no clear belief in a personal God, they did not have the sensitive consciousness of sin which is evident in Christian teaching.

Salvation, to the Stoic, meant a freedom of soul in this life reached through one's own efforts. The Stoics held this point of view partly because in practice they regarded the spirit of man as essentially part of the Divine Spirit so that man is a microcosm in the most literal sense of the macrocosm. One became a wise man through the refinement to the utmost degrees of his own spirit, although the Stoics would admit that only very few attained this status. Therefore, Stoicism in the last analysis, must be classified as an "attainment-religion,"⁶² since it places the chief stress on human effort. Although Epictetus understood a deeper spiritual meaning in his use of *σωζω* and *σωτηρία*, it was only in the rationalistic sense of self-deliverance.⁶³

Consequently, the followers of the Stoa were ignorant of the fact

61. Paul Wendland, "Hellenistic Ideas of Salvation in the Light of Ancient Anthropology," The American Journal of Theology, XVII (1913), 346.

62. Shirley Jackson Case, op. cit., p. 286. In contrast to the Stoic view, Paul in 1 Cor. 2:11-12 makes it clear that true Wisdom is not attainable through merely human means, but it is revealed by the Spirit of God. The Spirit of God within the believer, according to Paul, is not the development to the utmost degree of our own spirit but is the gift of God to us. Cf. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: S.P.C.K., 1955), p. 186.

63. Adlof Bünhoffer, Epiktet und das Neue Testament (Vol. X of Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, eds. Albrecht Dieterich and Richard Wünsch; Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1911), p. 277.

that "salvation is of God." They had no conception of Christian regeneration --"that supernatural act of God whereby a new and divine life is infused into the elect person, . . ."⁶⁴ There was no new constituent element which came into the personality as in the case of a person coming into union with Christ.

Fundamentally, it is necessary to understand that the Stoic who exhorts "retreat into yourself and you will find God" is only saying that God is his own reason--the same reason by which all mankind goes astray.⁶⁵ This being so, the wise man lives without lasting satisfaction and dies alone. He has no hope in the life after death. In fact, he renounces hope as "the great deceiver."⁶⁶ Matthew Arnold's closing words concerning Marcus Aurelius aptly describe the ultimate weakness of Stoicism: "We see him wise, just, self-governed, tender, thankful, blameless; yet, with all this, agitated, stretching out his arms for something beyond."⁶⁷

64. Bernhard Citron, New Birth: A Study of the Evangelical Doctrine of Conversion in the Protestant Fathers, (Edinburgh: At the University Press, 1951), p. 12 quoting Hermann Witsius, The Economy of the Covenants between God and Man, p. 322.

65. André-Jean Festugière, Personal Religion among the Greeks (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), p. 115.

66. John Baillie, The Belief in Progress (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), pp. 65 f.

67. "Marcus Aurelius," Essays in Criticism (first series; London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1896), p. 379.

III. REBIRTH IN THE MYSTERY RELIGIONS

Since the latter part of the nineteenth century, there has been an enormous flood of literature concerning the Graeco-Oriental mystery religions. Many investigators of these cults thought that certain basic conceptions should be found in more or less all of the mystery religions. Since the idea of rebirth was considered as one of the basic conceptions, there has been a considerable amount of discussion concerning regeneration in the mystery religions.¹ Therefore, it would be impossible in such a short section of this thesis to discuss every theory concerning rebirth in the cult ceremonies. The purpose of this section is to consider the most important features of regeneration in the mystery religions as an aid to our understanding of the background of regeneration in the New Testament.

There are some important difficulties involved in investigating any aspect of the mystery religions. First, the evidence upon which our knowledge of the mystery religions rests is for the most part fragmentary and by no means easy to interpret. This one factor causes different scholars to arrive at quite divergent results. Two schools of thought are evident. One group, represented by such men as H. A. A. Kennedy,² believes that the mystery cults brought to bear only a minimum of influence upon primitive Christianity. The other group, composed of men like Richard

1. In addition to many shorter sections in works, compare the somewhat uncritical book by Harold R. Willoughby, Pagan Regeneration (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929), pp. 36-224, with the critical treatment by Joseph Dey, op. cit., pp. 36-131.

2. St. Paul and the Mystery Religions (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913).

Reitzenstein,³ are disposed to believe that the amount of influence from the cults was relatively large even in the formulation of certain central doctrines of Christianity. Another difficulty in the study of the mysteries involves chronology. Therefore, it is well to state the fact that the present study is limited to those concepts of the cults which could have possible influence upon the belief of the Christians of New Testament times. Even then it is necessary to inquire whether the similarities arise from the effort to describe a religious experience with a metaphor common to philosophers and preachers down through the ages, or whether the similarities are due to borrowing one from the other.⁴

For the most appropriate procedure in describing the concepts of regeneration in the mystery religions, Professor Kennedy has chosen to consider separately each method whereby the initiate is said to be regenerated (or deified). He discusses seven ways through which the process of regeneration becomes possible in the various mystery religions.⁵ In order to give a clear exposition, however, and, at the same time, remove the danger of mixing quite heterogeneous elements, it seems the course of wisdom to consider each of the most important mystery religions separately.

3. Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen (dritte auflage; Leipzig: B. C. Teubner, 1927).

4. For an admirable presentation of the difficulties resulting from improper methods, see Bruce M. Metzger, "Considerations of Methodology in the Study of the Mystery Religions and Early Christianity," H.T.R., XLVIII (January, 1955), 1-20.

5. St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, pp. 199-210. These categories are: (1) Partaking of the Deity, (2) ἐνθεοσύνη, (3) Ecstasy, (4) Contemplation and Revelation, (5) Element-Mysticism, (6) Marriage-Symbolism, (7) Dying to Live.

Furthermore, the mystery religions will be considered in two sections. First, regeneration by some type of act of initiation will be described under "Mystery Cults." Second, rebirth by contemplation and abstraction with little or no ritual is examined in "Greek Religious Mysticism."

THE MYSTERY CULTS

The mystery cults were for the most part a group of new religions coming in from the Near East and acquiring a new form in the Graeco-Roman world. The "mysteries" are the ceremonies which confer membership in the secret society. These ceremonies are thought to involve a mystic rebirth. They involve secrets which those present are bound not to divulge. Hence, the insufficiency of evidence regarding the meaning of the innermost rites.

Being distinct from the city-state cults, these worshipping communities were made up of voluntary adherents. They offered personal salvation to all regardless of nationality and rank, except Mithraism which limited membership to men only. Salvation meant escape from the tyranny of Fate and its most devastating visitation, death. This privilege of immortality was reached by the process of regeneration. The process was frequently described as deification. Thus, by what may broadly be called sacramental means, the worshipper became united with the deity.

Isis and Osiris-Serapis

One of the most often quoted parallels to rebirth in the New Testament is the account of Lucius' initiation recorded in Apuleius' Metamorphoses (or The Golden Ass). The African Apuleius, born in the second century A. D., is one of the most curious figures of Roman literature. He was a rhetorician and a philosopher, a medical doctor and

a magician, and he presented himself for initiation into all of the mysteries. In Metamorphoses he tells of a Lucius of Corinth, who, after being transformed into an ass by blind fortune, comes back to human form through a gift of the goddess Isis.

Book XI describes the religious conversion and initiation of Lucius. For a period, the priest gently urged Lucius to postpone his desire for initiation because:⁶

. . . he (the priest) said that there was none of his company either of so desperate a mind, or so rash and hardy unto death as to enterprise receiving this mystery without the commandment of the goddess, whereby he should commit a deadly offense: considering that it was in her power both to damn and to save all persons, and that the taking of such orders was like to a voluntary death [voluntariae mortis] and a difficult recovery to health: and if anywhere there were any at the point of death and at the end and limit of their life, so that they were capable to receive the dread secrets of the goddess, it was in her power by divine providence to make them as it were new-born and to reduce them to the path of health [. . . quodam modo renatos ad novae reponere rursus salutis curricula].

In order to understand Lucius' new-birth, the passage which describes the Isiac initiation proper is important:⁷

. . . I approached near unto hell, even to the gates of Proserpine, and after that I was ravished throughout all the elements, I returned to my proper place: about midnight I saw the sun brightly shine, I saw likewise the gods celestial and the gods infernal, before whom I presented myself and worshipped them.

This passage, although Apuleius desired and succeeded in making it somewhat obscure, seems to indicate that through the ritual the initiate believed he was making a trip around the universe: he became familiar with Hades, approached very near and honored the infinite gods, passed through

6. Apuleius, The Golden Ass, trans. W. Addington, revised by S. Gaselee, L.C.L., 1915, p. 575 (XI, 21). (Insertions and italics are mine.)

7. Ibid., p. 581 (XI, 23).

the intermediate region of the elements, and arrived at the superior sphere where in the midst of a great light he adores the heavenly gods. Thereby, with the help of the goddess Isis, Lucius is guaranteed escape from the bad influence of the demons during the remainder of his present and future life. He is no longer subject to the tyranny of Fate, but only to the dominance of Isis.

The account of Lucius' initiation into the Isiac cult is interpreted by A. D. Nock⁸ as producing a rebirth which follows a mystic death. From Metamorphoses XI, 21 and 23, Professor Nock considers the central act of initiation as a death issuing in life, a death through which the initiate had to pass. On the other hand H. A. A. Kennedy⁹ cautions the reader not to exaggerate the obscure remarks and hints of Apuleius. This caution is necessary because it is difficult to determine how much of a genuine religious experience was involved and exactly what it meant.

Due to the fact that the life which the initiate now begins will be lived in other conditions he can be called quodam modo renatus (born again in some fashion, Metamorphoses XI, 21). Apuleius appears almost to apologize for using the term renatus by adding quodam modo.¹⁰ Again, this expression is rendered less decisive since renatus quodam modo is used in Metamorphoses XI, 16 not to emphasize the effect of the initiation, but to describe the restoration of Lucius to human form. Taking into consideration that this initiation was not completely sufficient, for he underwent two

8. "Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic Background," Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation, A. E. J. Rawlinson, editor (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1928), p. 105, n. 1, pp. 113, 117. Hereafter referred to as "Early Gentile Christianity."

9. St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 209.

10. Wilfred L. Knox, Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 91.

other initiations after this one (XI, 27 and 29), it is possible to say that benefit derived from the Isiac initiation was a "precarious redemption."¹¹

After the initiation Lucius celebrated "festissimum . . . natalem sacrorum" (the nativity of my hold order, XI, 24). The term natalis in Latin has manifold uses. Not only does it mean "birthday" but also the "beginning-day," the "beginning," and "commencement" of a rule, and the "first day" of the rule. Here natalis can denote the first day in the worship of Isis. Consequently, it is difficult to see that use of natalis supplies any conclusive proof of a mystical rebirth.¹²

The fact that Apuleius has Lucius speak of the high priest as ". . . now my spiritual father" (XI, 25) does not suffice as evidence for the initiate becoming a child of the deity (A. Dieterich's supposition)¹³ or for the priest becoming the mediator of rebirth (R. Reitzenstein's suggestion).¹⁴ At no point in the text is there any suggestion of Lucius becoming a son of the goddess, but he becomes a "zealous worshipper" (XI, 26).

From the foregoing discussion, it is possible to side either with such men as Albert Schweitzer¹⁵ and Martin Dibelius¹⁶ who believe that the

11. Vincenzo Jacano, "La Παλιγγενεσία in S. Paolo e nell' ambiente pagano," Biblica, XV (1934), 387.

12. Wilfred L. Knox, Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity, p. 91.

13. Eine Mithrasliturgie (zweite auflage; Leipzig-Berlin: B.C. Teubner, 1910), p. 146f.

14. Poimandres (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1904), p. 215, n. 1.

15. The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, trans. William Montgomery (London: A. & C. Black, 1931), p. 14.

16. Die Pastoralbriefe, revised by Hans Conzelmann (Vol. XIII of H.z.N.T., third edition; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1955), p. 112.

Isiac initiation mediates a new birth in this life, or with the studies of Jacano, J. Dey, and W. L. Knox who find it difficult to see such an implication from the evidence. At the conclusion of his discourse on regeneration in the Isis Mystery, Professor Jacono¹⁷ affirms that one cannot derive any allusion to a divine birth from Apuleius. At any rate, it is not possible to arrive at completely valid conclusions regarding the connection with early Christianity because the most important evidence, Metamorphoses, comes from 150 A. D. which is later than primitive Christianity. James Moffatt¹⁸ comes to the following point of view:

" . . . Apuleius, a literary artist who picks up phrases from any quarter to suit his purpose. The historical student will always be chary of assuming without further evidence that such terms were used by Isis worshippers during the first half of the first century."

Cybele and Attis

A second often-quoted parallel to regeneration in the New Testament occurs in reference to the taurobolium in the mystery of the Great Mother (Magna Mater). A Christian named Prudentius (b. 348 A. D.) vividly describes a taurobolium being carried out for the purpose of consecrating a priest of the Great Mother. After being elaborately adorned, the priest descends into a trench underneath an open grating on which a bull was to be sacrificed. Then, Prudentius continues:¹⁹

17. Op. cit., p. 387.

18. Grace in the New Testament (London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1931), p. 59.

19. E. T. by C. K. Barrett, The New Testament Background: Selected Documents, pp. 96-97. Hereinafter referred to as Documents.

. . . they pierce its [the bull's] breast with a sacred spear, the gaping wound emits a wave of hot blood, and the smoking river flows into the woven structure beneath it and surges wide.

Then by the many paths of the thousand openings in the lattice the falling shower rains down a foul dew, which the priest buried within catches, putting his shameful head under all the drops, defiled both in his clothing and in all his body.

Yea, he throws back his face, he puts his cheeks in the way of the blood, he puts under it his ears and lips, he interposes his nostrils, he washes his very eyes with the fluid, nor does he even spare his throat but moistens his tongue, until he actually drinks the dark gore. (Peristephanon X. 1011 ff.)

Although the priest coming out of the pit was adored as though a god, we do not know whether ordinary people who went through the ceremony were treated in this manner.²⁰ A similar ceremony was performed with a ram and called a criobolium. The meaning of the terms taurobolium (ταυροβόλιον) and criobolium (κριοβόλιον) for a long time were enigmatic, but are now known to designate the act of obtaining a bull or a ram with the help of a hurled weapon, probably the thong of a lasso.²¹

The early inscriptions mentioning the taurobolium do not explain its meaning. They only state that a taurobolium has taken place and may include details concerning its cost. Later, when inscriptions begin to state the aim of the taurobolium, it is found that this ceremony was a sacrifice. That is shown by such inscriptions as the one found at Lyons, France, dating from 160 A. D.²² The purpose of this taurobolium, which is a good example, is stated to be for the well-being of the emperor, his house, and the town of Lyons. Thus, it has the character of a public festival. This type of taurobolium, that is, as a sacrifice, is recorded

20. A. D. Nock, "Early Gentile Christianity," p. 105, n. 1.

21. Franz Cumont, The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1911), p. 67.

22. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (Berlin: George Reimer, 1899), Vol. XIII, No. 1571 (p. 212). Hereinafter referred to as C.I.L.

in inscriptions on till about the middle of the third century A. D.

In the year 241 A. D., the taurobolium turns up in the inscription as an initiation of an individual.²³ It is presumed that at about this period the blood rite began to be understood as a ceremonial whose end was the attainment of personal salvation. However, the efficacy of the rite of the taurobolium differed in what was promised the initiate. On the one hand, there is epigraphical evidence in which the rite was efficacious for twenty years.²⁴ Then, from Rome there is the inscription of 376 A. D. which designates the person who received the taurobolium as in aeternum renatus (reborn to eternity).²⁵ It is interesting to notice that this phrase "reborn to eternity" does not occur in the cult of Cybele and Attis anywhere previously or later.²⁶ Significantly, the date of this inscription is thirteen years after the death of the Emperor Julian, a devoted adherent to the cult of Cybele. The pagan reforms attempted by Emperor Julian were plainly imitations of the Christian Church. Therefore, the phrase "reborn to eternity" is probably the result of competition with Christianity, which promised eternal life to its adherents.²⁷

Several prominent ideas should be stressed in concluding our treatment of the taurobolium. First, from the evidence which is extant, it seems that the blood rite began as a public festival and later developed

23. C.I.L., XIII, 518 (p. 68).

24. C.I.L., VI, 504 of 376 A. D. and C.I.L., VI, 152 of 390 A. D.

25. C.I.L., VI, 510 (p. 97).

26. C.I.L., VI, 736 is not considered genuine. Cf. Dey, op. cit., p. 73.

27. Bruce M. Metzger, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

into a personal initiation.²⁸ Second, due to its great expense, the blood baptism appears never to have been required for membership in the cult of the Great Mother. Hence, it was not considered as an absolute essential for the salvation offered by the cult. Third, the rebirth effected by the taurobolium was physical and only at the end of paganism it may have acquired moral connotation.²⁹ Fourth, because the earliest date in which the blood baptism was spoken of as producing a rebirth to eternity comes from the latter part of the fourth century A. D., Professor Kennedy is correct in finding the taurobolium to be inadmissible as evidence for our period.³⁰

Apart from the taurobolium, there is yet another aspect of the rites of the Great Mother which are said to bring rebirth. Sallustius, an official under the Emperor Julian, gives an extremely compressed account of the Attis festival in his work Περὶ Θεῶν καὶ Κόσμου. After describing some of the festival, Sallustius states:³¹

Then comes the cutting of the tree and the fast, as though we also were cutting off the further process of generation; after this we are fed on milk as though being reborn [rejoicings and garlands and as it were a new ascent to the gods.

ὥστε
ἀναγεννημένοι

These rites seem to be celebrations in which all the faithful participated

28. A. D. Nock's hypothesis ["Early Gentile Christianity", p. 118] to the contrary is without proof.

29. A. D. Nock, Conversion, p. 284.

30. St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 230. Likewise, A. D. Nock, "Early Gentile Christianity", pp. 118-119.

31. Sallustius, Concerning the Gods and the Universe, ed. A. D. Nock (Cambridge: University Press, 1926), p. 9, (Chapter IV).

every year rather than the ceremony of individual initiation.³² Hence, this quotation from Sallustius cannot be used to demonstrate that rebirth was effected through initiation into this cult. By way of summary, it seems impossible to prove from the evidence which is extant that a spiritual rebirth had a place in the cult of the Great Mother when the New Testament writings came into being.

Eleusinian

According to some investigators the idea of regeneration is found in the Eleusinian mysteries.³³ In this cult the nights from the 20th till the 23rd boedromion were dedicated to the celebration of two sacred dramas: (1) The taking away and finding of Kore, (2) The sacred marriage. While seeking to point out the shamelessness of the myths of the gods, Clement of Alexandria records some valuable information. Clement describes the myth of Demeter, goddess of fruitfulness, wandering about, looking for her daughter Kore, and becoming tired in the neighborhood of Eleusis (near Athens). He continues:³⁴

Well, then . . . Baubo having received Demeter hospitably, reaches to her a refreshing draught; and on her refusing it, not having any inclination to drink . . . and Baubo having become annoyed, thinking herself slighted, uncovered her secret parts [nakedness], and exhibited them to the goddess. Demeter is delighted at the sight, and takes, though with difficulty, the draught--pleased, I repeat, at the spectacle. (Protrepticus II, 20, 3.)

In addition, Clement states the formula, called the σύνθημα (Synthema), of the Eleusinian mysteries as follows:³⁵

32. A. D. Nock, "Early Gentile Christianity," pp. 117-118.

33. Notably, A. Dieterich, op. cit., pp. 125-126.

34. Clement of Alexandria, The Writings of, op. cit., I, 31. (Insertion mine.)

35. Ibid., p. 32. (Insertions mine.)

I have fasted, I have drunk the cup, [kykeon]; I have received from the box [cista]; having done [ἐργασάμενος], I put it into the basket, and out of the basket into the chest [cista]. (Protrepticus II, 21, 2)

The Synthema is important since many explanations of the Eleusinian mysteries revolve around it. By its reference to the kykeon (cup), the formula is thought to be a part of the ceremonial included in the sacred drama of Demeter searching for Kore. Within the cista (chest) the sacred objects were probably placed. However, exactly what these objects were has been the subject of considerable speculation.³⁶ It is thought that a rebirth was indicated by a symbolic act, that is, "by contact with a representation of pudendum of Demeter in a cista."³⁷ Certainly, the meaning of the act suggested by the Synthema must be found in the connotation of ἐργασάμενος. Unfortunately, however, the meaning of ἐργασάμενος is still undisclosed. Therefore, no definite conclusion can be reached about the meaning of this formula.³⁸

The second and more secret part of the Eleusinian rites was the drama of the sacred marriage. This drama was probably a marriage between Demeter and Zeus.³⁹ The fruit of the sacred marriage is Plutos, the

36. Theories: (1) A representation of the phallus, A. Dieterich, op. cit., pp. 125-126. (2) A female sex organ, Otto Kern, Die Religion der Griechen (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1935), II, 193. (3) Both the male and female sex organs, M.-J. Lagrange, "La régénération et la filiation divine dans les mystères d'Eleusis," R. B., XXXVIII (1929), 70-75.

37. A. D. Nock, "Early Gentile Christianity," p. 117.

38. J. Dey, op. cit., p. 49.

39. Opposing the early Christian writers who mention a Demeter-Zeus marriage, M.-J. Lagrange [op. cit., R. B., XXXVIII (1929), 205] holds that it is a marriage of Demeter with a mortal person.

divinity rich in this life and the next life. In connection with the sacred marriage, a quotation from Hippolytus in the Nassenic sermon is often considered. Hippolytus states that the priest celebrating the ceremony calls out:⁴⁰

'August Brimo has brought forth a holy son, Brimos,' that is, the strong (has given birth) to the strong. (Refutatio Omnium Haeresium Bk. V, Ch.8)

Brimo is thought to be equated with Plutos.⁴¹ From the marriage drama the initiate is assured the favor of the goddess, which included the certainty of being happy after death. However, there was no transformation. In fact Lagrange rightly states that to place in the center of the Eleusinian rites a sacramental act of divine affiliation is to falsify their meaning and their value.⁴²

Another point of interest is the $\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\eta\tau\eta\tau\omega\nu\ \theta\epsilon\omega\nu$ found in the pseudo-Platonic Axiochus (371 D). This expression does not imply with certainty that Axiochos was called $\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\eta\tau\eta$ because he was initiated and as an initiate.⁴³ Actually, another explanation of this phrase is evident from the context. The mention of the initiation of Heracles and Dionysius, sons of Zeus, suggests some relation between these sons and Axiochos. Furthermore, the family of Axiochos, Εὐπατρίδαι, boasted divine origin. The preferable interpretation⁴⁴ appears to be that

40. Hippolytus, Philosophumena or the Refutation of All Heresies, trans. F. Legge (London: S P C K, 1921), I, 138.

41. V. Jacono, op. cit., pp. 389-390. Although, A. Dieterich [op. cit., p. 138] uses the "call of the priest" as a proof of a rebirth of the mystic.

42. M.-J. Lagrange, "Bulletin: Nouveau Testament," R.B. XLI (1932), 121.

43. This stand is in opposition to E. Rohde, Psyche, p. 602 f.

44. V. Jacono, op. cit., p. 391.

Heracles and Dionysus are sons of Zeus, and Axiochos believes himself to be a son of Zeus because of the divine blood in his veins. Although Axiochos is secured from the fear of death because he has been initiated, he is even more assured as a descendant of the deity by being a member of the *Εὐπαιρίδαί* family. Hence, a spiritual rebirth is not implied.

Finally, it is appropriate at this point to mention a reference in Tertullian which needs clarification. The passage in De Baptismo 5 was formerly translated as follows:⁴⁵

. . . at all events, at the Apollinarian and Eleusinian games they are baptized; and they presume that the effect of their doing that is their regeneration, and the remission of the penalties due to their perjuries.

More recently, however, the word "Eleusinian" has been corrected to read "Pelusian."⁴⁶ Thus, this passage does not apply to the Eleusinian cult. Even in its application to the Pelusian festival, this baptism was not a means of initiation. The bath was to effect a cleansing which authorized the "washed" persons to participate in the festival. Consequently, it is very unlikely that any such significance as regeneration was attached to the washings of the Pelusian festival or Apolline games.⁴⁷

⁴⁵. Tertullian, The Writings of, trans. Rev. S. Thelwall and others (Vol. XI of Ante-Nicene Christian Library; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1869), Vol. I, p. 236. The word "Apollinarian" in this quotation means that which pertains to Apollo.

⁴⁶. Cf. Tertullien, Traité du Baptême, text and trans. R. F. Refoulé and M. Drouzy (in Sources Chrétiennes. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1952), p. 72 citing for his proof of changing the text F. J. Dölger, "Die Apollinarischen Spiele und das Fest Pelusia," Antike und Christentum, Band I (1929), pp. 150 ff.

⁴⁷. A. D. Nock, "Early Gentile Christianity," p. 113.

GREEK RELIGIOUS MYSTICISM

"The mystery religions provided a fertile soil for a type of mysticism in which the rites and ceremonies were interpreted as mere outward symbols of psychical appearances achieved in meditation and ecstasy."⁴⁸ Thereby, in Greek mysticism, the entrance into the super-earthly takes place through an act of thinking. In this act the personality raises itself above the ordinary senses which make the individual regard himself as in bondage in this life to the earthly and temporal. The aim of this discussion is to investigate the idea of regeneration in two examples of mystical literature: A Mithras Liturgy and Corpus Hermeticum.

A Mithras Liturgy

The Paris Magic Papyrus 574 has become known as A Mithras Liturgy through the effort of Albrecht Dieterich⁴⁹ to demonstrate that the papyrus is a liturgy of the Mithras cult refashioned into a magic formula. Both Reitzenstein and Cumont deny it is a fragment of Mithraic liturgy.⁵⁰ However, this question does not obstruct our purpose. Although it contains older doctrine, this magic papyrus dates from about the beginning of the fourth century A. D.⁵¹

The so-called Mithras Liturgy contains instruction about the actions and prayers which are necessary for the attainment of an ecstatic journey

48. Rudolph Bultmann, Primitive Christianity in its Contemporary Setting, trans. R. H. Fuller (London: Thames and Hudson, 1956), p. 160.

49. Eine Mithrasliturgie. The Greek papyrus is quoted complete in pp. 2-15. Dieterich's text will be referred to hereafter as Dieterich, p. _____, line _____.

50. F. Cumont, The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, pp. 260 f. Cf. also A. Dieterich, op. cit., pp. 225-228.

51. Harold R. Willoughby, op. cit., p. 163.

to heaven and a vision of God. The closing prayer reads:⁵²

. . . Gaze on the god, groan long, and greet him thus: "O Lord, hail, ruler of water, hail, founder of earth, hail, sovereign of spirit. Lord, having been born again [παλιν γενομενος] I depart; increasing and having been increased I die; born of a life-giving birth [ἀπο γενέσεως ὑπογόνου] I am set free for death and go on my way, as thou didst ordain [ὡς σὺ ἐκτίσας], as thou didst enact and didst make the mystery." (Dieterich, p. 14, lines 26-23.)

Dieterich considers this section of the papyrus to be the "clearest and most far-reaching use of the picture of death and rebirth we possess in a liturgical text of antiquity."⁵³ Other parts of the papyrus give light as to the meaning of rebirth at this point. At the beginning of the prayer we have:⁵⁴

. . . if it seem good to you to give me, held, as I am by my underlying nature, to immortal birth [τῇ ἀθάνατῃ γενέσει], in order that, after the present need which presses sore upon me, I may behold by deathless spirit the deathless Beginning, by deathless water, by solid earth and air, that I may be born anew by Thought [ἵνα νοήμητι μετὰ γεννηθῶ], that I may be initiated and that the sacred spirit may breathe in me, . . . for today I am to gaze with deathless eyes, I who was born mortal from a mortal womb, but transformed by mighty power and an incorruptible right hand. . . (Dieterich, p. 4, line 6 ff).

Then, after the vision of God (ὄψει θεόν),

Dieterich, p. 10, line 28), because the regeneration is already accomplished,

Helios is addressed:⁵⁵

"O Lord, hail, . . . Helios, Lord of heaven and earth, god of gods, . . . I am a man, A, the son of my mother B, born of

52. E. T. by C. K. Barrett, Documents, pp. 103-104. (Insertions mine.)

53. Op. cit., p. 166.

54. E. T. by C. K. Barrett, Documents, p. 103.

55. Ibid.

the mortal womb of B and of lifegiving seed, and this day by thee⁵⁶
 who has been regenerated [ΜΕΤΑΓΕΝΝΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ],
 who out of so many thousands have been brought into immortality
 [ἈΠΑΘΑΝΑΤΙΣΘΕΙΣ] in this hour by the counsel of
 god, who is good beyond measure . . . " (Dieterich, p. 12, lines
 2 ff.)

Many investigators including Martin Dibelius and H. A. A. Kennedy cite this
 papyrus as being a clear example of a rebirth mediated in this life and
 expressed under the figure of dying to live. It is also interesting to
 notice that V. Jacano⁵⁷ considers the use of πορεύομαι (Dieterich,
 p. 14, line 33) and ἈΠΑΘΑΝΑΤΙΣΘΕΙΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΥΤῇ
 τῇ ὥρᾳ (Dieterich, p. 12, line 5) to refer to the fact that
 after living a regenerated life, the mystic is approaching physical death.
 Thereby, the mystic will take a trip through the spheres and assimilate
 himself with the deity.

A different--yet plausible--interpretation is presented by J. Dey.⁵⁸
 In the papyrus death is thought of as present after rebirth has already
 taken place--a reverse of the usual death and rebirth figure. Thus, for
 Dey, a mystical death is ruled out. Further, the use of the terms τῇ
 ἈΘΑΝΑΤῶ ΓΕΝΕΣΕΙ (Dieterich, p. 4, line 8) and ἈΠΑΘΑΝΑΤΙΣΘΕΙΣ
 (Dieterich, p. 12 line 5) applied to the mystic seem to contradict a physical
 death. Therefore, Dey believes the word "death" to refer to the end of the
 ecstasy. In the first prayer (Dieterich, p. 4, lines 18ff.) the vision is
 stated to be possible only with "deathlesseyes" after the mystic is exalted

56. The term ΜΕΤΑΓΕΝΝΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ is a conjecture of Dieterich.
 The papyrus has ΜΕ ΓΕΝΝΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ . Cf. A. Dieterich, op. cit.,
 p. 12, footnote for line 4.

57. Op. cit., p. 394. Kennedy and others would be opposed to this
 view.

58. Op. cit., pp. 105-109.

and cleansed, and at the end of the vision he returns to his customary earthly life. Consequently, this rebirth is a gift from higher spiritual powers granted to the mystic in the course of his ecstasy with the sole aim of obtaining a vision.

Whatever view may be taken of A Mithras Liturgy, the two phrases, Ἰνδ νοήματι μεταγεννηθῶ (Dieterich, p. 4, line 13) and ὁψεί θεῶν (Dieterich, p. 18, line 28) are to be remembered since they indicate the means whereby the mystic is brought to regeneration or deification. And these thoughts have some similarity to chapter XIII of the Corpus Hermeticum.

Hermeticism

The Hermetic literature was considered as coming from the god of wisdom, Hermes Trismegistos. Besides the large amount of fanciful and astrological literature attributed to Hermes, there are important writings which contain religious and philosophical teaching known as the Corpus Hermeticum.⁵⁹ The central doctrine of the Corpus is that of liberation from the tyranny of fate or natural necessity through the mystic contemplation of God. In this group of essays, Hermes speaks in a dialogue with a son Tat. The eighteen tractates of the Corpus are thought to have been brought together in the fourth century A. D., although some of the writings are evidently older. Treatise I (called Poimandres) was probably

59. The text and translation used for this discussion will be the more recent work by A. D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière, Corpus Hermeticum (Paris: Société D'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1945), except where the English translation by Walter Scott [Hermetica (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924)] agrees with the French translation of Festugière, in which case the English will be quoted from Scott. C. H. will be the abbreviation for Corpus Hermeticum.

written in the latter half of the second century A. D., and Treatise XIII toward the end of the third century A. D.⁶⁰ The latter is the most important tractate for our study. It is entitled *λόγος ἀπόκρυφος περὶ παλιγγενεσίας*.

Rebirth in the Hermetic literature is based on a belief in dualism. Matter is completely opposed to the spiritual. Thus, replying to Tat's question, Hermes says truth is "that which is not sullied by matter" (C. H. XIII, 6). In this literature there is described the deification of the mystic by the gift of gnosis obtained through an ecstatic vision. Hermes, according to his words, is now god through an ecstatic vision, He says:⁶¹

. . . I see that by God's mercy there has come to be in me a form which is not fashioned out of matter, and I have passed forth out of myself, and entered into an immortal body. I am not now the man I was; I have been born again in Mind [*ἐν νουγενήθειν* ἐν νῷ]. (C. H. XIII, 3)

And the method of regeneration is understood better from A.-J. Festugière's translation of C. H. XIII, 10:⁶²

Tu connais maintenant, mon enfant, le mode de la regeneration. Par la venue de la Décade, mon enfant, la génération spirituelle a été formée en nous, et elle chasse la Dodécade, et nous avons été divinisés par cette naissance.

While Hermes speaks Tat has the ecstatic vision and the change happens insensibly. The twelve spirits of punishment are driven out of the mystic by the ten virtues. The end result comes to the fore in the

60. Walter Scott, op. cit., II, 374.

61. E. T. by Walter Scott, op. cit., I, 241. (Insertion mine.)

62. A. D. Nock and A.-J. Festugiere, op. cit., II, 204.

conversation which follows:⁶³

--Pere je vois le Tout et je me vois moi--meme dans l'Intellect.
 --C'est la precisement la regeneration [*ἡ παλιγγενεσία*],
 mon enfant: ne plus former ses representations sous la figure du
 corps a trois dimensions . . . (C. H. XIII, 3).

Accordingly, Tat has become a god:⁶⁴

Do you not know that you have become a god (*θεός*), and son of
 the One, even as I have? (C. H. XIII, 14)

With its philosophical background, there is the conception of a
 transformed essence which makes the mystic a god. Therefore, the idea of
 transformation here is the substitution of a divine personality for human
 in the believer. Divine Nous worked in and transformed the individual.
Gnosis was the way to a transformation which finally results in deification.
 In fact, Treatise I, 26 has this statement: "This is the blessed issue for
 those who have attained gnosis, to be deified (*θεωθῆναι*)."⁶⁵

There is no external ritual but Tat is transformed as he listens
 to the revelation. Thus, it is possible to say "the *λόγος* produces the
παλιγγενεσία ." ⁶⁶ The rebirth is a supernatural gift; however,
 only the few who are called attain it. It is to be noticed that Tat was
 told to bestir himself about the coming of the nous. This shows that some
 responsibility rests upon the mystic himself to become endowed with nous.

The highest aim of rebirth is deification, that is, the ascension
 of the mystic back to his divine origin. However, the tractates are not

63. Ibid., II, 206.

64. E. T. by Walter Scott, op. cit., I, 249.

65. E. T. by H. A. A. Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions,
 p. 163.

66. Ibid., p. 109.

completely consistent. Treatise I, 26 speaks of deification only after death; whereas, in Treatise XIII it takes place while the disciple is alive. Lagrange⁶⁷ strongly believes that the term "rebirth" in Hermetic literature is taken over from Christianity. The Hermetic author, according to Lagrange, has taken the term and made it his own in order to enrich his doctrine. The term is even given an Hermetic content. Nevertheless, the Christian influence is limited to certain parts of the literature. Jacono⁶⁸ not only holds that the idea of regeneration in Treatise XIII depends upon Christian influence, but the very literary form including dialogue and expressions recalls the Gospel of John, chapter 3, which was well known in the Christian church. Therefore, it seems possible that the idea of regeneration in Hermetic literature was appropriated from Christianity.

CONCLUSION

Looking back over the study of the Mystery Cults and Greek Religious Mysticism, it is well to remember that a spiritual rebirth does not occur in any text previous to Christianity.⁶⁹ Even though some authors have tended to over emphasize rebirth in the mysteries, W. L. Knox⁷⁰ admits that it is hard to find any clear evidence that the idea of regeneration figured prominently in the mystery cults. Since Christianity is a missionary religion, it would naturally avail itself of the popular

67. R. B., XXV (1926), 259-264.

68. Op. cit., p. 396. Even C. H. Dodd (I.F.G., p. 52) declares "that the impulse [in the C. H.] to use the figure of rebirth may have been partly due to Christian influence."

69. V. Jacono, op. cit., p. 397.

70. Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity, p. 91.

phraseology and imagery of its environment. However, "this imagery has been the common property of mystics and philosophers and preachers throughout the ages."⁷¹ Even when the mystery cults used a term like "regeneration," they did not have the same meaning or specific quality as when it was used in the New Testament.⁷² Moreover, there is nothing in the mysteries which corresponds to faith in the epistles of Paul. Primitive Christian sacraments were considered to be dona data, that is, blessings given to those who were unfit to be disciples of Jesus Christ; whereas, pagan sacraments granted their benefits ex opere operato, but "with no effective change of the moral self for the purpose of living."⁷³ These religions largely separated morality and religion except when later influenced by Christianity. For this reason, regeneration in the mystery religions offers some release from the Karma of recurrent existences and a promise of personal immortality, but it does not result in power over sin.⁷⁴ W. F. Howard's appropriate words summarize other important points:⁷⁵

Instead of a short-lived ecstasy, Christianity proclaims a new life in the spirit which endures without a repeatedly renewed regeneration. Christianity does not develop a special type

71. H. A. A. Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 228.

72. James Moffatt, Grace in the New Testament, p. 59. C. H. Dodd, IF.G., p. 52. Albert Schweitzer [Paul and His Interpreters, trans. W. Montgomery (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1912), p. 192] affirms that Paul "cannot have known the mystery religions in the form in which they are known to us, because in this fully-developed form they did not yet exist."

73. A. D. Nock, "Mysteries," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933), X, p. 174.

74. Millar Burrows, An Outline of Biblical Theology (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1946), p. 186. Cf. John Baillie, The Belief in Progress, p. 51.

75. Christianity according to St. John (London: Duckworth, 1943), p. 200.

of esoteric mystic, but proclaims the "open secret" of the Gospel for all. Even Titus iii. 5, which seems the nearest approximation in the N. T. to the language of the mysteries, has no reference to any mystical ecstasy, but explains in the second and parallel clause that this regeneration is the continuous working of the power of a new life. Finally, this regeneration is possible not only to select initiates but is regarded as a fundamental experience of all Christians.

The deep differences between regeneration in the mystery religions and that in the New Testament become increasingly evident. Finally, it is not enough to point out that the mystery cults made use of the idea of rebirth. One must demonstrate where the bridge of communicating the idea to the New Testament writer was made. And this is a very difficult, if not insurmountable, task. Yet, there is another area which may have a stronger possibility of influence upon the New Testament. This area is the Judaistic background.

CHAPTER II

THE JUDAISTIC BACKGROUND OF REGENERATION

THE JUDAISTIC BACKGROUND OF REGENERATION

Introduction

From the foregoing it is clearly understood that the Hellenistic world knew the idea of rebirth. Yet, the New Testament writers were not forced to derive this concept from the Hellenistic environment. It is well known that during the rise of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule the tendency was to interpret much of the New Testament from a Hellenistic point of view and Jewish elements were minimized. In recent years, however, there has been a fresh study of Judaism and its application to the New Testament. Therefore, it is possible that the idea of regeneration in primitive Christianity may have been derived from the Judaistic environment.

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT

Since Christianity is lineally descended from the religion of the Old Testament, it is necessary to consider whether the roots of the concept of regeneration lead back to thoughts which were pronounced in the Old Testament. Of course, the exact figure of spiritual rebirth from God for the individual is not contained in the Old Testament.¹ Hence, regeneration is technically a creative thought of the New Testament which does not occur in the Old Testament. On the other hand, J. Dey² rightly asserts that the Old Testament points to an event in its prophecy which can be connected with rebirth as a salvation happening on the individual.

Professor Otto Procksch³ sought to demonstrate the association of the New Testament conception of rebirth with the thought of the Old Testament. He saw the connection fundamentally laid down in the Old Testament conceptions of "return" and "new creation." In this study of regeneration in the Old Testament, the concepts of "return" and "new creation" will be considered as well as a discussion of two metaphors of birth and an investigation of inward renewal in the prophets.

If the Old Testament were a textbook of systematic theology, the items in this discussion would be established terms. However, since the

1. C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures (London: Nisbet and Co., Ltd., 1952), p. 21. Psalm 2:7 will be discussed later.

2. Op. cit., p. 142.

3. "Wiederkehr und Wiedergeburt," Das Erbe Martin Luthers und die gegenwartige theologische Forschung: Festschrift für Ludwig Ihmels, Robert Jelke, editor (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1928), pp. 1-18.

terms of systematic theology in this area are not found in the Old Testament, this study will consider the meaning of Hebrew words and thoughts.

THE CONCEPT OF RETURN

The concept of "return" is an Old Testament thought which later passes into the New Testament. It is interesting to study the concept of regeneration in the thought of return in order to see a segment of the connection of faith between the Old and New Testaments.

The Thought of shub shebut and Related Ideas

The phrase

שׁוּב שְׁבוּת

(shub shebut)⁴

is important in any consideration of "return" in the Old Testament, because it summarizes various aspects of the eschatological drama. In the past the interpretation of this phrase has been a problem in Old Testament scholarship; however, since the problem is not the chief interest of the present study, only a bare statement of the data will be given here.

The traditional view has been to derive shebut from

שְׁבוּת

so the phrase would mean "return the captivity of." Others hold that shebut is to be derived from shub,⁵ which demonstrates the meaning "bring

4. It occurs as follows: Job 42:10; Amos 9:14; Hosea 6:11; Jer. 30:3,18; Joel 3:1 (Hebrew 4:1); Psalm 14:7; 53:6 (Hebr. 53:7); 85:1 (Hebr. 85:2); 126:1,4; Deut. 10:3; Zeph. 2:7, 3:20; Jer. 29:14; 31:23; 32:44; 33:7,11,26; 48:47; 49:6,39; Ezk. 16:53; 29:14; 39:25. Cited by Otto Procksch, "Wiederkehr und Wiedergeburt," p. 2. Ludwig Köhler adds to the list Lamentations 2:14. Cf. Ludwig Köhler and Walter Baumgartner, Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), p. 940.

5. S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray [A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job (I.C.C.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), II, 349] appear to oversimplify the case in affirming that this view has "generally prevailed" since Ewald's article [Jahrbücher für der bibl. Wiss., V (1853), 216 f.].

about the restoration of." The difficulty lies in the fact that some of the passages seem to favor the meaning "return the captivity of" (e.g., Jer. 29:14; Ezk. 29:14; Zeph. 3:20), while some other passages favor the meaning "bring about the restoration of" (Ezk. 16:53; Job 42:10; Psalm 126:1,4). Moreover, since the meanings are not too far apart, most of the passages can be either from the context. It should be noted also that the accurate Aquila, who translated the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek, seemed to express his opinion by translating this Hebrew phrase with *ἐπιστρέφειν τὴν ἀίχμαλωσίαν*, whereas the LXX translation is *ἀποστρέφειν τὴν ἀποστροφὴν*.⁶

The three most outstanding studies of the phrase have been done by Preuschen, Dietrich, and Baumann.⁷ Yet, they differ from each other in their conclusions. According to the published dissertation of William L. Holladay,⁸ Dietrich's theory appears to be the most convincing up to this time. Dietrich's view suggested that the original form of the noun shebut was *שְׁבֻט* which was derived from shub.⁹ Granting that shebut

6. Edmond Jacob, Theology of the Old Testament, trans. A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1958), p. 320. Except in Jer. 49:6 where Aquila follows the LXX reading.

7. Erwin Preuschen, "Die Bedeutung von *שְׁבֻט* im Alten Testamente," Z.A.W., XV (1895), 1-74. E. L. Dietrich, " *שְׁבֻט* : Die endzeitliche Wiederherstellung bei den Propheten," (Beihefte der Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, No. 40. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1925), pp. 1-66. Eberhard Baumann, " *שְׁבֻט* : Eine exegetische Untersuchung," Z.A.W., XLVII (1929), 17-44.

8. The Root shub in the Old Testament (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), p. 113.

9. E. L. Dietrich, op. cit., pp. 30-32.

was originally derived from shub, the preferable connotation of the technical phrase appears to be "to turn the turning," that is, "to change the fortunes of" or "to bring about the restoration of."¹⁰

The origin of the thought of shub shebut is to be found in the mythological theme of a return at the end of time of the first things.¹¹ The formula signifies the restoration to the original, normal condition of a people or of a man. Thus, the Revised Standard Version consistently translates this phrase "to restore the fortunes of." This restoration always means something wholesome. It is a turning for good, for healing and for homecoming.¹² It is an order planned by God which returns. The expression shub shebut is taken over by the prophets from the popular language to promise about the return to the golden age of Israel (Hosea 6:11; Jeremiah 30:18). It is the great eschatological turning point. The condition of the return is clearest in Amos 9:14 f. where it is said that Israel is destroyed to erect a city, to plant vineyards, to order gardens and to take root forever in the promised land.

It is to be noticed that with one exception always a group (people, city, or land) experiences the restoration. Only once is the language

10. William L. Holladay, op. cit., pp. 112 f. Also, S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, op. cit., II, 349. Baumann's theory appears to have influenced Köhler, who gives the meaning "turn one's fortune (to the good)" in some of the passages (Jer. 32:44; 33:7,11,26; 49:6,39; Ezk. 39:25; Joel 4:1 and Lamentations 2:14), but Köhler still holds that "to gather those in captivity" is the connotation in the majority of its usages. Cf. Ludwig Köhler and Walter Baumgartner, op. cit., pp. 940 and 954.

11. Edmond Jacob, op. cit., p. 320.

12. Ludwig Köhler, Old Testament Theology, trans. A. S. Todd (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957), p. 235.

concerning an individual. In Job 42:10, God skillfully places the destiny of Job under His control again in order to restore unto Job "twice as much as he had before." God is consistently the subject of the phrase "restore the fortunes of" in its Old Testament usage.

After the sifting brought about by the judgment, the residue is the "remnant" of Israel. And God effects the decisive "return" through the remnant, the new shoot out of the old felled tree (Isaiah 6:13). The name of Isaiah's son is significantly Shearjashub which means "a remnant shall return."¹³ This remnant would be very small and would only escape by a miracle of God, but it will become the new stock in the holy people of Israel. After the judgment and the chastisement, God will restore the fortunes of His people by means of a remnant which has survived and has been renewed inwardly and spiritually.¹⁴

It should be remembered that in the Old Testament the process of history appeared as a straight horizontal line. There is no thought of recurrent cycles in the Old Testament view of history.¹⁵ The future consummation is regarded as a restoration, in some sort of man's primitive state, and in some sort of a glorified Davidic monarchy. In Israelite prophecy, when the Kingdom of God comes, it is destined to last for ever.

A passage which is especially significant relating to the restoration of the nation, without using the phrase "to restore the fortunes of," is Ezekiel 37:1-14. In a vision Ezekiel sees a valley

13. Isaiah 7:3. Ludwig Köhler [op. cit., p. 231] comments that since Isaiah has his concept of the remnant, it is not surprising that he does not speak of a new heart or the outpouring of the spirit upon all.

14. Th. C. Vriezen, An Outline of Old Testament Theology, trans. S. Neuijen from the second Dutch edition (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), p. 356.

15. John Baillie, The Belief in Progress, p. 59.

filled with dry bones, which come to life to signify the "resuscitation of the dead nation"¹⁶ or the national rebirth.¹⁷ The death and resurrection herein described symbolically represent the scattering of God's people and the final return when they are reunited. In this passage, the four senses of the word ruach--life-giving, spirit, wind, breath--are closely interwoven.¹⁸ The aspect of ruach which predominates in verses 5, 6 and 8 is that breath by which man becomes alive. While, in verse 14 it is God's ruach--powerful and enlivening--which will reconstitute the dry bones of the house of Israel into a living, united body. God's ruach is the agent by which man could say that his life is inbreathed by God.¹⁹ This promise of Israel's renewal offered possibilities of later personal application.²⁰ Nevertheless, the central point is God's miraculous restoration of Israel portrayed through the figure of the reanimation of the dead by His life-giving Spirit.

Both Ezekiel and Second Isaiah proclaim the restoration. To them, it will not be a return to the past, but a new creation. Ezekiel describes this restoration as the work of Yahweh, who will complete the new covenant

16. A. B. Davidson, Ezekiel (Cam. B.; Cambridge: At the University Press, 1906), p. 269. I. G. Matthews, Ezekiel (An American Commentary on the Old Testament; Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1939), p. 139. According to C. K. Barrett [The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1947), p. 20], the future redemption in Ezekiel 37:1-14 would be a new creation, because God would breathe into the people who had forfeited their life, and make them live again. Therefore, this passage from Ezekiel implies both the idea of restoration and that of new creation.

17. Robert H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament, New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1948), p. 523.

18. Norman H. Snaith, The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament (London: The Epworth Press, 1953), p. 145.

19. Ezekiel 37:9.

20. Ezekiel 37:14.

with the ancient principle: "I will be their God, and they shall be my people" (37:27). The prophet probably has in mind a new relationship between the people and their God, in which His dwelling place shall be with them, and there shall be an everlasting covenant (37:26) with them to bind them to Him more closely than the covenant at Sinai. In chapter 37, Ezekiel looked forward to the age to come as a time when the Spirit will reunite "Israel" and renew its life.²¹ On the other hand, Second Isaiah does not dispose of the past, but he understands the restoration as somewhat similar to a transformation and purification of the past. The Servant Songs give the crux of his thought as being a theology of history.²² The Servant recapitulates the whole history of his people, except that where Israel failed, the Servant will succeed.

The Carry-over of Restoration into the New Testament

The New Testament also speaks of a restoration at the end of this age using the Greek terms ἀποκατάστασις and παλιγγενεσία. In fact, the theme of shub shebut is defined in Christian theology as the ἀποκατάστασις πάντων (Acts 3:21), and is closely related to the idea of the final restoration (palingenesia) suggested in Matthew 19:28.²³

In Acts 3:11 ff., after the healing of the lame man Peter preaches to the people in Solomon's portico. Upon speaking to them about the death

21. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (second edition), p. 223.

22. Edmond Jacob, op. cit., p. 338.

23. Cf. L. S. Thornton, The Common Life in the Body of Christ (third edition; London: Dacre Press, 1950), p. 192, n. 1.

and resurrection of Jesus, Peter invites them to "repent" and "turn again." In this way, there shall come to pass the times of refreshing and the return of Jesus Christ

whom heaven must receive until the time for establishing
[ἀποκατάστασις] all that God spoke
by the mouth of his holy prophets from of old (Acts 3:21).

From this passage, the return of Jesus Christ should occur with the ἀποκατάστασις (apokatastasis) of all things which were foretold by the prophets. Here the final return of the beginning condition is meant by apokatastasis, corresponding to שׁוּבָה in the Old Testament.²⁴ That is shown by the fact that the LXX regularly translates the Hebrew root שׁוּבָה by use of the verbs ἀποκαθίσταειν or ἀποκαθιστάν.²⁵

In the third chapter of Acts, apokatastasis does not designate the conversion of persons, but the restoration of things.²⁶ This term refers to the restoration of the Messianic kingdom and of the new ordering of things as they existed before the Fall. In the same passage, χρόνος relates to the permanent condition of the renewed world. The "establishing" is limited to that which has been prophesied as is indicated by the relative clause of the verse. Thus, apokatastasis in Acts describes the "new thing" which God will do at the End as is foretold in the Old Testament.²⁷ In

24. Otto Procksch, "Wiederkehr und Wiedergeburt," p. 4.

25. Cf. Exodus 4:7; 14:26 f.; Isaiah 23:15; Ezekiel 16:55 in the LXX.

26. Albrecht Oepke, " ἀποκατάστασις ," T.W.N.T., I, 390.

27. Isaiah 43:19.

this way, the familiar concept of the Messianic new creation in Judaism is taken as a point of departure.

The key to the meaning of apokatastasis in Acts is found in the promise of Jesus. After the transfiguration, the disciples inquired about the resurrection. To this Jesus answers, "Elijah does come first to restore [$\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$] all things" (Mk. 9:12). In the parallel passage, Jesus identifies the "second" Elijah as John the Baptist.²⁸ This return of Elijah is as it was foretold in Malachi 4:5 f.:

Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of the Lord comes. And he will turn the hearts of fathers to their children and the hearts of children to their fathers, . . .

Thus, the beginning point of the $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ was the return of Elijah. And the thought of return ($\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) appears to have penetrated into the concept of apokatastasis in primitive Christianity.²⁹

Before the ascension, those who had assembled together with Jesus asked: "Lord, will you at this time restore [$\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$] the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts 1:6). Although Jesus does not deny them the expectation, his answer omits any political reference and directs them toward the spiritual sphere.³⁰ Christ endeavored to teach the disciples that the Kingdom of God would be founded on love and not on political power. With this in mind, Peter's reference to the apokatastasis expressed

28. Matthew 17:13 and also 11:14.

29. Otto Procksch, "Wiederkehr und Wiedergeburt," p. 5.

30. Albrecht Oepke, op. cit., T.W.N.T., I, 388.

the expectation of the Jews which had been approved by Jesus.³¹ Thus, the return of Jesus Christ is bound up with the restoration of "things."

Another term which occurs in the New Testament to express a restoration at the end of the age is *παλιγγενεσία*. In Matthew 19:28 this term is used to set forth the idea that in the age to come there will be a new or renewed creation.³² From this passage it is seen that the expectation of the Jews for a final restoration is confirmed again by Jesus. Therefore, the idea of the final restoration was a teaching common to both the Old and New Testaments.

THE IDEA OF THE NEW CREATION

In the preceding discussion of the "restoration" at the end of the age, the Old Testament description was couched in terms which presupposed a knowledge of the primitive state of perfection.³³ Another concept in the Old Testament which is akin to the thought of "restoration" is that of the "new creation." In contrast to "restoration," the idea of the "new creation" often implies the final disposal of the imperfect past.³⁴

In the Old Testament the doctrine of redemption is in close relation with the doctrine of creation. Accordingly, the end of history is prefigured

31. J. Dey, op. cit., p. 145.

32. Vide infra in the section concerning the Synoptic Gospels for a more detailed consideration of this passage.

33. However, in the New Testament, "The coming age is not a mere return to the primitive beginning." Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time, trans. Floyd V. Filson (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1950), p. 67.

34. Otto Procksch, "Wiederkehr und Wiedergeburt," p. 7. However, these categories cannot be strictly separated in every case.

in the beginning, and the position to which man will be redeemed at the last is something of a return to the position to which he was created at first. At certain points in Hebrew prophecy the emphasis is not upon a mere return to former things, but upon a glorious new era such as the world had never seen. And such a radical transformation could not be brought about by human agency, but by the direct control of God. The absolute sovereignty of God can only come to pass through a great change which will mark the end of the present state of things and the establishment of something new.

One of the best examples of the idea of the new creation of the world is found in Deutero-Isaiah. In connection with the renewal in its cosmic significance, God speaks:

For behold, I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former things shall not be remembered . . . (Isa. 65:17)

and

For as the new heaven and the new earth which I will make shall remain before me, says the Lord, so shall your descendants and your name remain. (Isa. 66:22)

Here the time of salvation for the people of God is ushered in by a new creation. The present cosmos will be entirely transformed to make a new kind of universe (66:25). And it is natural that the prophet envisaged the future world in pictorial terms which are comparative to the kind of life he lives on the earth now (e.g., 65:18).

In the Old Testament, the forces of nature respond to God's command. Thus, the sovereignty of God over nature, which was classically expressed in the Genesis creation narrative, is here applied to the new

creation.³⁵ The salvation event which Deutero-Isaiah expects has aspects which reflect the framework of this world (that is, Jerusalem is made the center of interest); yet, there are elements which bear universal and supra-historical traits.³⁶ Not only does the prophet repeatedly³⁷ make use of the significant verb bara' (to create), but he employs it three times at the points of greatest emphasis in 65:17-18. This proves his view to be that the salvation of Israel was no less than a new creation.³⁸

Furthermore, due to the fact that Isaiah 65:15-16 speaks of the elect being called by another name, it appears that their character will be entirely transformed in the new age.³⁹ The creation of "new heavens and a new earth" implies a complete renovation of the conditions of human existence.⁴⁰ The "former troubles are forgotten" (65:16), and all things

35. N. E. Dahl, "Christ, Creation and the Church," The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, eds. W. D. Davies and D. Daube, p. 425, n. 3. F. Baudraz, "New," A Companion to the Bible, ed. J.-J. von Allmen, trans. P. J. Allcock et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 307.

36. Isaiah 65:17-25; 66:5-24. Th. C. Vriezen, An Outline of Old Testament Theology, p. 361.

37. Deutero-Isaiah employs the verb bara' more than any other Old Testament author (16 times); P source uses it 12 times, and in the whole Old Testament it occurs only 44 times. Cf. Th. C. Vriezen, "Prophecy and Eschatology," Supplements to Vetus Testamentum (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), I, 217, n. 6.

38. Th. C. Vriezen, An Outline of Old Testament Theology, p. 361.

39. James Muilenburg, "The Book of Isaiah" (Exegetical Commentary), I.B., V, 753. R. H. Charles, Religious Development Between the Old and the New Testament (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), pp. 54, 70 f.

40. John Skinner, The Book of the Prophet Isaiah (Cam.B.; Cambridge: University Press, 1951), II, 230.

will be for the welfare of the renewed people of God. This means that the last two chapters of Isaiah reflect both a transformation of nature and a renewal of humanity.

Along with this description of the new age, there is said to be a sudden birth of a male child who represents a whole nation after Yahweh's heart.⁴¹ Thus, at the time of the Lord's coming (66:18), there will be the miraculous birth of the new people. This signifies that the final coming of the Lord is a time of new birth.⁴² The new age will establish a new relationship of closeness between God and His people in which there shall be a common joy (65:19) and sufficient worship (66:23). Although the idea of a transformation of nature in order to be in harmony with a renewed humanity is found in the earlier part of the Book of Isaiah,⁴³ the idea of a new creation is nowhere expressed so absolutely as in Isaiah 65:17.⁴⁴

41. Isaiah 66:7-9. Franz Delitzsch, Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah, trans. from the fourth Ger. ed. by J. S. Banks and James Kennedy (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1892), p. 459.

42. James Muilenburg, op. cit., V, 766.

43. Isaiah 11:6-9; 29:17; 30:23 ff.; 32:15 and ch. 35. Cf. Edmond Jacob, op. cit., pp. 335 f.

44. In addition, it is possible that the idea of the new creation in Jewish (and Christian) thought is implied in one way or another in the following categories: (1) The Exodus from Egypt, (2) The deliverance from the Exile, (3) The New Year's Festival, and (4) The Passover. Cf. Harald Riesenfeld, "The Resurrection in Ezekiel XXXVII and in the Dura-Europos Paintings," Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, Band II, Article 11 (1948), pp. 22 ff. Austin Farrer, A Study in St. Mark (London: Dacre Press, 1951), p. 259. S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, trans. G. W. Anderson (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), pp. 23 f., 26. Gösta Lindeskog, "The Theology of Creation in the Old and New Testaments," The Root of the Vine, ed. Anton Fridrichsen (London: Dacre Press, 1953), p. 3, n. 2. Erik Sjöberg, "Wiedergeburt und Neuschöpfung im palästinischen Judentum," S. T., IV (1950), p. 52, n. 2. Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1959), p. 80.

To sum up, it is evident that the last two chapters of the Book of Isaiah (chs. 65-66) describe the new creation of both heaven and earth, as well as of man in the future age, and this complete transformation of man is represented as a new birth for the whole new people of God.

Turning from this passage on the new creation in Deutero-Isaiah, one finds in the earlier chapters of Isaiah a more complete description of the "new earth" than is contained in the other prophets.⁴⁵ In Isaiah's view, the new creation of the world consists of a great transformation of nature. There shall be peace among all creatures. This transformation of nature shall begin when the spirit is poured out upon men from on high and the wilderness becomes a fruitful field. Not only will peace reign in nature, but there shall be shalom among men while God judges between the nations. The laws of God shall rule over all nations. However, not all people shall enjoy the grace of God. After the judgment, a remnant will remain to become the new stock of the holy people of Israel.

To Isaiah, the Messiah is the initiator of the new age to come. His person and work will form part of the new creation. The Messiah's work will consist of bringing back the shub shebut and of making it effective through a moral transformation.⁴⁶ The Messianic kingdom shall be founded on justice and righteousness to show that the Messiah's reign is in harmony with the will of God.

When all this shall take place, the former things shall belong to the period of time previous to the new age. For this reason, references to

⁴⁵. Isaiah 2:1-5; 7:3; 9:4,6; 11:1,6-8; 14:32; 32:15-18. and ch. 35. Cf. Louis S. Taylor, The New Creation (New York: Pageant Press, Inc., 1958), p. 128.

⁴⁶. Edmond Jacob, op. cit., pp. 335 f.

new things, new songs, new names, a new heaven and a new earth appear in Hebrew eschatology.⁴⁷

Because the conception of time is involved here, it seems necessary to compare the Old and New Testament interpretations of history and time. According to the Hebrews, history has a definite direction which leads to a future better than the present.⁴⁸ Thus, the Old Testament understands a future of complete salvation in the new age to come as opposed to the present time of incomplete salvation. Although the Old Testament knows the distinction between the present and future world, it makes no distinction between a first and second coming of the Messiah. And the Hebrews held to the linear concept of time which is entirely different from cyclical view of the Greeks.

In its general outline, the Hebrew conception of history was inherited by primitive Christianity. Actually, the New Testament concept comes forth out of the background of Hebrew prophecy and Jewish apocalyptic. What is new in the New Testament view is the position which the Christian community now believes itself to stand in the pattern of time. Previously, the turning-point of history had been in the future, but the early church considered it to be in the past at the advent of Christ. The new age, of which the prophets had spoken, had now begun and the Christian Church was living in it.

By the death and resurrection of Christ the new age was introduced. Along with the certainty that the crisis of history has been reached, there

47. Cf. Isaiah 42:9-10; 43:19; 48:6; 62:2; Jeremiah 31:22; 33:16; Psalm 33:3; 96:1; 98:1; 144:9; 149:1.

48. John Baillie, The Belief in Progress, pp. 65 f.

is the knowledge that its consummation is still delayed. The promised salvation has been accomplished and Christians have risen with Christ to newness of life; but the old age has not passed away. The Church is now living "in the time between the decisive battle, which has already occurred, and Victory Day."⁴⁹ For this reason, there is a sense in which the note of hope is stronger in the New Testament than in the Old.

Since a new age began with the resurrection of Christ, it was natural to distinguish between two aeons. In Matthew's Gospel the distinction is made between "this age" and "the age to come" (12:32). Paul also speaks of "this world" ($\delta \alphaἰὼν οὗτος$) and of the "age to come."⁵⁰ Therefore, Jesus and Paul knew the distinction of the two aeons.⁵¹ However, the preferred usage of "kingdom of heaven" or "kingdom of God" over the Greek term aeon is evident in the New Testament. Paul and John in developing the concept of the new creation go back to Isaiah's prophecy rather than to the thoughts of the aeons.

Even though Paul's concept in its essence goes back to the prophecies of Isaiah, there are several important differences. For Paul, the new creation is of the present time although not perfected till the Parousia. Thus, it is not relegated completely to the end of time with the second coming of Christ and the Judgment. Moreover, Paul uses the new creation in reference to the individual (2 Cor. 5:17); whereas, renewal in Isaiah takes place on the entire world. In the thinking of the Apostle, it

49. O. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 145.

50. Romans 12:2 et al, and Ephesians 1:21, respectively.

51. Cf. Günther Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, trans. Irene and Fraser McLuskey with James M. Robinson (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1960), pp. 66 f.

is Christ, who begins the new creation (Col. 1:18) and truly fulfills Deutero-Isaiah's hope of a universal religion. Christ, the returning Son of Man, will complete the entire redemptive process at the end. He is the mediator of the new creation. Upon the basis of the work of the resurrection, the power of the Holy Spirit will transform all things. There will be a new heaven and a new earth in which sin and death do not exist. Then, Christ "himself will also be subjected to him who put all things under him, that God may be everything to every one."⁵²

A METAPHOR OF BEGETTING⁵³

In Psalm 2 there is a description of a newly anointed king who at one point speaks an oracle which came to him from the Lord on the day of his enthronement. The Lord declared, "You are my son, this day I have begotten you" (Ps. 2:7). The first part, "You are my son," is the ordinary formula for the legal adoption of a child and indicates that the sonship rests on Yahweh's adoption of the king. The reference to "this day" means the day when the king ascended the throne. Also, the use of "this day" binds the second part, "this day I have begotten you," to the first part and shows that nothing more is implied than the formula of adoption

52. I Corinthians 15:28. In this discussion concerning time, the writer is indebted to Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 107 ff. et passim.

53. This discussion singles out one prominent metaphor of birth in the Old Testament. Another birth metaphor which has already been considered is found in Isaiah 66:7-9. In this passage from Isaiah, there is described a sudden birth of a man child who represents a whole nation after Yahweh's heart. Therefore, it refers to the rebirth of Israel either after the Exile or at the eschatological return of the Lord.

in the first.⁵⁴

The Usage of Beget

Using the term "beget"⁵⁵ the author expresses the fact that the king is regarded as Yahweh's son by adoption. Due to the Old Testament conception of God, this oracle did not express, as was the custom in Egypt, that the king was an offspring of the gods. The idea of divine sonship of the king in a literal sense was alien to Hebrew thought.⁵⁶ "This day I have begotten you" means that Yahweh has now adopted him as His "son," that is to say, has chosen him as His anointed king to represent him. The idea here does not suggest a metaphysical conception but a religious and ethical connotation.⁵⁷ Yet, it is important that the metaphor of begetting is used here, even though it only carries the meaning of adoption.

Later, this Psalm was given a Messianic interpretation. This means that the designation "Son of God" for the Messiah probably finds its origin in this psalm. Although it cannot be proved at present, it is perfectly possible that the title "Son of God" was current during the time of the earliest church as a Messianic title in Judaism because Psalm 2

⁵⁴. William R. Taylor, "The Book of Psalms" (Exegetical Commentary), I. B., IV, 25.

⁵⁵. In Proverbs 8:22-31, wisdom is clearly stated to have been begotten before the creation of the world and to have shared in God's creative activity. Cf. Deut. 32:18.

⁵⁶. W.O.E. Oesterley, The Psalms (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1939), I, 126 f. Nevertheless, as Ethelbert Stauffer [New Testament Theology, trans. John Marsh (London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1955), p. 141] points out, Psalm 2:7 declares that the king was called "God's son" and even the "begotten of God" from the day when God appointed him.

was already interpreted Messianically in Judaism as it was in the Christian Church.⁵⁸ In Midrash Psalm II. 9, Rabbi Huna (c. 260 or 350 A. D.) explains that the words "this day I have begotten thee" refer to the time when God will create the Messiah.⁵⁹ It should be noticed that R. Huna does not believe the term "begotten" should be construed literally. This is typical of the rabbinic attitude to interpret any suggestion of begetting as an idea of creating.⁶⁰ In addition, the New Testament spelled out a Messianic meaning for this passage. At Antioch, Paul quotes Psalm 2:7 as finding its highest fulfillment in the resurrection of Christ.⁶¹

Sonship

The words "You are my son" bring up the idea of sonship. In the Old Testament, the concept of "son of God" is not at all frequent, but it is found in four types of usage. It is used to refer to angels (Gen. 6:2; Job 1:6; 38:7), to the king (2 Sam. 7:14; Ps. 2:7), to Israel (Ex. 4:22-23; Hos. 11:1), and to righteous men in later literature (Ecclesiasticus 4:10; The Wisdom of Solomon 2:18, The Psalms of Solomon 13:8; 17:30; 18:4). In

58. Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, trans. Kendrick Grobel (London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1952), I, 50. A. M. Hunter [Paul and His Predecessors (new revised edition; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961), p. 88] asserts that it is probable that Ps. 2:7 was explained Messianically in Judaism before it was explained Christologically in Christianity.

59. The Midrash on Psalms, trans. William G. Brande (Vol. XIII of Yale Judaica Series, ed. Leon Nemoy; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), I, 41.

60. F. Büchsel, T.W.N.T., I, 667.

61. Acts 13:33. This verse of the psalm is also quoted in Hebrews 1:5; 5:5, and certain Western authorities of Luke 3:22.

each of the four categories, the matter of obedience is of cardinal importance.⁶² Israel is constituted the "son" by the choice of God, and for Israel this involves the response on her part of filial love and obedience (Ex. 24:7). Thus, the basic definition of a son of God is "one who does the righteous will of God."

It is this Hebraic idea which reappears in the New Testament teaching concerning the Sonship of Christ. Sonship meant for Jesus what it was intended to mean for Israel, that is, "the unquestioning response to the event of God's choice by unswerving obedience to his will."⁶³

The members of the community belonging to Christ are sometimes called children of God and sons of God. Yet, it should be made clear at the outset that Christ's Sonship is qualitatively different from the sonship of believers. Christ is the Son by right, whereas the believers are sons by grace. Believers may be described as "sons of God," but Jesus was "the Son of God" in a pre-eminent sense.⁶⁴

On the other hand, the early Christians believed that the saving act of God wrought in Christ had this for its aim: "When the time had fully come, God sent forth his Son . . . that we might receive adoption as sons" (Gal. 4:4-5). Thus, there was an essential dependence of the sonship of Christians upon the Sonship of Jesus, which Paul expresses by

62. Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, p. 148.

63. Reginald H. Fuller, The Mission and Achievement of Jesus (Studies in Biblical Theology); London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1956), pp. 85 f.

64. Vincent Taylor, The Names of Jesus (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1953), pp. 69 f.

saying: "the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me" (Gal. 2:20). And, through the reception of the Spirit, there had come into the primitive Christian community something of the communion with God and adoption of God which it had seen in Jesus.⁶⁵ By appropriating the saving work of Christ, they were convinced that already they had been "begotten again" (I Pet. 1:23), and given the "power to become children of God" (John 1:12).

Some relationship to this idea may be found in the Lukan genealogy of Jesus (3:23-38) where it says: "Jesus . . . being the son (as was supposed) of Joseph, the son of . . . the son of . . ." and ends ". . . the son of Adam, the son of God." Adam, by virtue of having been directly created by God without human parentage, is "son of God" in contrast to all other men who are sons of men. Yet, there is an analogy between Adam and believers in reference to the son-of-God idea. As Adam was son of God by direct creation, believers become spiritual sons of God by the creative power of God. In this way, Luke 3:38 is an example of "creation" and "begetting" being scarcely distinguished.⁶⁶

Furthermore, there is the belief in the New Testament that those who become Christians are ushered into a new experience of sonship to God by a supernatural change.⁶⁷ Paul expresses this most clearly in the

65. Friedrich Büchsel, Die Johannesbrief (Band XVII of Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament, ed. P. Althaus et al.; Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1933), p. 48.

66. Austin Farrer, A Study in St. Mark, p. 277.

67. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1920), Part I, Vol. I, p. 402 f.

saying: "For all who are led by the Spirit of God are the sons of God" (Rom. 8:14). This change is also described in Paul as a resurrection (Rom. 6) and in John (ch. 3) as a new birth. In fact, the ideal of religious life in the teaching of Jesus expresses itself in terms of sonship to God. Matthew epitomizes this by recording: "That you may become the sons of your Father who is in heaven."⁶⁸

The early disciples employed the phrase "son of God," which had been used to refer to Israel in the Old Testament, but it seemed to them packed with new meaning.⁶⁹ The idea of becoming a child of God or a son of God appears to be almost another way of expressing the thought whereby one is said to be born from above or born from God. Yet, the definition of this relationship is hindered by the fact that it runs afoul the Hebraic idea of begetting. From this, it is necessary that being born of God in the New Testament be understood, not in the sense of being God's child by nature, but of being adopted by God.⁷⁰ Therefore, the idea of being born from God in the New Testament appears to have a chain of connection with the primitive Christian view of believers as sons of God and with Jesus as the Son of God, and even going back to the Old Testament references to Israel as son of God. It is necessary to realize that the Biblical authors are merely making use of ideas drawn from the family in order to

68. Matt. 5:45. Cf. William Manson, Jesus the Messiah (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1946), p. 152.

69. Harry Emerson Fosdick, A Guide to Understanding the Bible: The Development of Ideas within the Old and New Testaments, (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1938), p. 51.

70. Millar Burrows, An Outline of Biblical Theology, p. 142.

describe more fully the divine-human relationship.

By way of summary, Psalm 2:7 is important because it is a pre-Christian use of the metaphor of begetting. In its original context, the passage refers to Yahweh's adoption of the newly anointed king and this describes a religious and ethical relationship. Moreover, since it was interpreted Messianically by the time of the earliest church, this verse is likely the origin of, or at least one of the major roots for, the expression of the relationship of the Messiah to God as being that of sonship. Actually, it contributed to the idea that the believers became sons of God, even though this sonship was of a different kind from that of Jesus. The Israelites are "sons of God," but otherwise the Old Testament does not appear to touch upon the thought that they may have been born of God. Nevertheless, from this Psalm along with other relevant passages cited above, it is possible that there is a line of relation between "sons of God" in the Old Testament and "born from God" in the New Testament.

INWARD RENEWAL IN THE FUTURE

Along with the preceding discussion, it should not be overlooked that there are several passages in the Old Testament which can be considered as adumbrations of regeneration of the individual in the New Testament. Tones of this inward renewal are heard after the old covenant was broken by the unfaithfulness of the people, and some of the prophets envisioned that God would one day impose a new covenant upon Israel to fit the new situation that He was about to inaugurate. Jeremiah is profoundly spiritual and personal as he prophesies:

Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, not like the covenant which I made with their fathers . . . But this is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel after those days, says the Lord: I will put my law within them, and I will write it upon their hearts; and I will be their God and they shall be my people. And no longer shall each man teach his neighbor and each his brother, saying, 'Know the Lord', for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest, says the Lord; for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more. (Jeremiah 31:31-34.)

Both the holy nation and the individual are represented in the New Covenant. Here we find a duality in Jeremiah's thought. "It is a national covenant, made with the house of Israel; and at the same time it is individual, resting on the possession by each member of the community of personal knowledge of God."⁷¹ Throughout the Old Testament the individual is considered in the context of the community, though the emphasis shifts to some extent. In Jeremiah and his followers, the individual acquires new significance, but the sense of the solidarity of the people of God continues. Jeremiah's prophecy of the new covenant is individualistic in method, but at the same time it is a covenant "with the house of Israel."

There are several significant aspects contained in Jeremiah 31:31-34. In "the days to come" the bond between Yahweh and His people will be expressed in a covenantal relationship. This covenant, which will be made, is to be a new one. Concerning this covenant as in the old covenant, one element will be the Torah, but in this case the Torah will not be written as previously on tablets of stone. In the new covenant the Torah

71. John Skinner, Prophecy and Religion: Studies in the Life of Jeremiah (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1951), p. 333. Likewise, Robert H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 551. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 78.

will be written "in the heart." Although the writing of the previous Torah may have been performed by human hands, the Torah in the new covenant will be written by God Himself. Moreover, it will be unnecessary to have the Torah in the new covenant taught by human teachers, because those who share in the new covenant will "know" the Lord directly and intimately. And this knowledge of God is made possible because of the promise of forgiveness, that is, the complete pardon which takes away all iniquity.⁷² The outcome of all this is that Israel will become the people of Yahweh and He will become their God.

Yahweh's activity in putting His Torah in the "inward parts" and in writing it "in the hearts" of the members of the new covenant demonstrates the inwardness of the new religious relationship. The "heart" embraces the emotional and ethical and intellectual life; thereby, the whole life has the engraving of the Law of Yahweh upon it and has thus become new.⁷³ When God inscribes the Law upon the hearts of individual

72. Ludwig Köhler, op. cit., p. 217. Another reference to the knowledge of God which is reserved for the glorious future is found in Isaiah: "Awake, awake, put on your strength, O Zion; put on your beautiful garments, O Jerusalem For thus says the Lord: 'You were sold for nothing, and you shall be redeemed without money Therefore my people shall know my name; therefore in that day they shall know that it is I who speak; here am I'" (52:1,3,6). That this was fulfilled with the coming of Jesus Christ is made evident in John 17:3. Cf. C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments (second edition; New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1951), p. 67.

73. A. S. Peake, Jeremiah and Lamentations (The Century Bible, ed. W. F. Adeney; Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack, Ltd., 1911), II, 106. At the same place, Peake affirms: "The 'new birth', the 'new heart', as the Gospel proclaims them, are really implied in this great saying It is rather that in the regenerate personality there should reside the eternal principles of religion and morality as the spring of all action."

men, it appears that there will be a transformation⁷⁴ of the soul which in turn will command the individual loyalty of each heart. In fact, sin produces a corruption of human nature which will disappear only when that nature has undergone a radical change. Jeremiah understood that there could be no lasting national reformation without the inner renewal of individuals.⁷⁵

Just as there is a duality in Jeremiah's mind concerning nationalism and the individual, there is also a duality in his thought concerning the Torah in this passage. The context of the covenant here seems to imply both the written Torah and a new kind of Torah which may be called pneumatic in the sense that it involved the activity of an inner, spontaneous principle.⁷⁶ Due to this factor, the new covenant, which is to be made in "the latter days," will confer a new motivation and inward power for fulfilling the Law already known.

Therefore, in this passage on the new covenant, Jeremiah seems to conclude that God shall "miraculously create the holy Israel of the future through a moral regeneration of the individuals."⁷⁷ Moreover, Jeremiah's

74. Johannes Pedersen, Israel: Its Life and Culture (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), Vol. III-IV, p. 566. For this reason, Jeremiah (4:4; 9:24 f.) insists on the need of a circumcision of heart. Vide Th. C. Vriezen, An Outline of Old Testament Theology, p. 63.

75. Harry Emerson Fosdick, op. cit., pp. 67 and 119. H. Wheeler Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), pp. 155 and 261.

76. W. D. Davies, Torah in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to Come (Vol. VII of J.B.L. Monograph Series; Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1952), pp. 26 f.

77. Robert H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 552. Cf. George A. F. Knight, A Christian Theology of the Old Testament (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1959), p. 331.

prophecy at this point probably includes the old Torah and a new kind of Torah, the essence of which lies in the "spiritual illumination of the individual mind and conscience, and the doing of the will of God from a spontaneous impulse of the renewed heart."⁷⁸

Not many years later Ezekiel was impelled to say much the same thing in his own words. Pointing out that God promises to renew his close relationship, the prophet records:⁷⁹

I will make a covenant of peace with them; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them; and I will bless them and multiply them, and will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore. My dwelling place shall be with them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.

God shall make a "covenant of peace" with them. Peace signifies well-being, "the state prevailing in those united; the growth and full harmony of the soul."⁸⁰ The "covenant of peace" effects peace between God and men; hence, it can be termed in this usage as the "covenant of salvation."⁸¹

The promised covenant appears to be different from the covenant that God made with their fathers in the sense of being of everlasting duration. This lasting relationship will be possible due to the fact that the future covenant brings about the dwelling of God in the midst of them. In order to express this more fully, Ezekiel associates the covenant relation with the doctrine of the new heart. The prophet declares a

78. John Skinner, Prophecy and Religion, pp. 329 ff. Cf. also Gunnar Östborn, Tora in the Old Testament (Lund: Hakan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1945), p. 155, n. 3. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 72. J. P. Hyatt, "The Book of Jeremiah" (Exegetical Commentary), I.B., V, 1038.

79. Ezekiel 37:26-27; compare Ezk. 16:60, Jer. 32:39-40, and Isaiah 55:1-7.

80. Johannes Pederson, Israel, Vol. I-II, p. 285.

81. Ludwig Köhler and W. Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 974.

promise of God as follows:⁸²

A new heart I will give you, and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will take out of your flesh the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances. . . . and you shall be my people, and I will be your God. And I will deliver you from all your uncleannesses.

In this passage as well as in Ezekiel 11:19, the new covenant is characterized by the "new heart" which works as divine power creative in the individual man, and by the "new spirit" which is the organ of the new spiritual development. According to Hebrew ideas, heart and spirit make up man's inner being. Thus, the prophet describes a revolutionary change in the hearts of men.

God will give them a fresh start by an inner, spiritual purification (Ezekiel 36:24) and by a forgiveness of sin. Forgiveness will lead on the moral regeneration.⁸³ Through His own initiative and for His own name's sake (Ezekiel 36:16-23), God will transform the human spirit. Therefore, Ezekiel "conceives of social renewal in terms of individual conversion."⁸⁴ The stony heart of self-will and indifference will be replaced by a heart of flesh which is genuinely responsive and loyal to God's ordinances.

The prophet not only describes God re-creating the whole personality, but also God inhabiting the tabernacle of the heart.⁸⁵

82. Ezekiel 36:26-29; compare Ezk. 11:19, Deut. 30:6 and Jer. 24:7.

83. Cf. Robert H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 522.

84. C. H. Dodd, The Bible Today (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1951), p. 48. Cf. G. A. Cooke, The Book of Ezekiel (I.C.C.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), I, 126.

85. H. H. Rowley, The Relevance of the Bible (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948), p. 137.

The placing of His Spirit within man is the sign of God's presence and includes everything that God can mean to men in righteousness, redemption and personal peace. God will bestow a new energy upon men. This new power will be necessary to enable men to carry out the new covenant. The giving of the Spirit is thus linked with the giving of the future covenant (Ezk. 36:27-28). And, Ezekiel saw the age to come as the fulfillment of the expectation of an invasion of the Spirit and of a perfect conformity to the Torah. The interior regeneration is ascribed to the action of the Spirit without which no creation is possible.⁸⁶ Thereby, in reference to the Spirit's workings, Ezekiel most nearly anticipates the teaching of the New Testament.⁸⁷

On the other hand, the activity of the Spirit does not replace man's freedom of moral responsibility. This is forcefully maintained in Ezekiel 18:31:

Cast away from you all the transgressions which you have committed against men, and get yourselves a new heart and a new spirit!

At this point, man is asked to do what was considered to be possible only by the power of God in Ezekiel 36:26-27. The apparent difficulty is resolved with a close scrutiny of the passage. The point of emphasis in chapter 18 is the doctrine of individual responsibility. Here the idea of individual responsibility is associated with the doctrine of the new heart showing that each person of the community will be judged only as he deserves. Repentance is required before God will bestow upon man the

86. Edmond Jacob, op. cit., p. 216.

87. John Battersby Harford, Studies in the Book of Ezekiel (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1935), p. 73.

new life. Hence, taking the seemingly opposing statements of Ezekiel 36:26 and 18:31 together, it becomes evident that both the work of God and act of man are necessary for the work of regeneration.⁸⁸

Another important passage concerning inward renewal is Psalm 51:10:

Create in me a clean heart, O God,
And put a new and right [mg. steadfast] spirit within me.

If man is going to be able to live up to God's ideal standard of behavior, the psalmist sees that it will be necessary to undergo "a radical change of heart with all that this implies as the transformation of his character."⁸⁹

When this change takes place there will be a new and vital relationship between God and man.⁹⁰ "Heart" is used to represent the centrality of a person's whole being including mind, emotions, and will; while "spirit" in this case probably refers to the motivating force within one's life.

Johannes Pedersen defines it by saying that "the spirit is more particularly the motive power of the soul. It does not mean the centre of the soul, but the strength emanating from it and, in its turn, reacting upon it."⁹¹

As if his heart were unclean past cleansing and his spirit past repair, the psalmist asks that they be made new. The "clean heart" which he wants must be a new creation. The verb bara' in the tense used here is only used of God.⁹² It designates an activity, such as the producing of

88. G. A. Cooke, op. cit., I, 202.

89. Aubrey R. Johnson, The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1949), p. 87.

90. Cf. also Deuteronomy 30:6.

91. Op. cit., I-II, 104.

92. Edmond Jacob, op. cit., p. 143.

the new heart and the new spirit, which is not realizable by man, but is made possible only by God's creative act. The object of the verb is always a completed and perfect work. In addition, the action of God's Spirit on that of man produces a steadying and a making firm of the spirit of man. Thus, "heart" and "spirit" are used together here in connection with divine renewal or regeneration.⁹³

CONCLUSION

Taking into consideration the thread of thought presented in this section concerning regeneration in the Old Testament, the acute insight of Walter Eichrodt brings the discussion to a climax:⁹⁴

It is the Word of promise which replaces the old reality by a new reality which includes in a new creation the individual as well as the people, the nations as well as the whole nature, and which resolves the insuperable resistance to a life bound by an absolute obligation to God's will. In putting "his law in their inward parts, and writing it in their hearts," and in renewing the very heart of personal life by means of his spirit, God establishes a community of will with his creatures which cannot be perfected in the present, and which has been the goal of his covenantal relation with Israel. In this way God creates the basic presuppositions for a new people in which the relation of the individual to the community accurately reflects his original will as Creator. The strength of renewal which streams out from this new action draws in the other peoples as well into a mighty process of transformation which brings a new humanity

93. Millar Burrows, An Outline of Biblical Theology, p. 140. In fact, H. Herkenne goes so far as to declare Psalm 51:10 to be the place of origin of the New Testament conception of palingenesia (Titus 3:5), "in so far as this also means the going over into an entirely new condition." Cf. J. Dey, op. cit., p. 149 citing H. Herkenne, Das Buch der Psalmen (Vol. V, Part 2, of Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments, eds. F. Feldmann and H. Herkenne: Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1936), p. 25.

94. Man in the Old Testament, trans. K. and R. Gregor Smith (No. 4 of Studies in Biblical Theology, eds. T. W. Manson et al.; London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1951), pp. 75 f.

into God's service. This turning-point in the world is completed in a cosmic renewal in virtue of which the whole creation returns to perfect beauty and harmony.

The concepts of "return" and "new creation" in the Old Testament passed over into the New Testament with the New Testament basically following the Old Testament prophecy. The return (or restoration) in the Old and New Testaments refers to the changed world at the end of this age. On the other hand, the "new creation" of the world in the Old and New Testaments generally means the disposal of the old and the creation of the new world in the End. Thus, the restoration and new creation of the world in the New Testament are expectations of the end of this age in conformity with the passages discussed in the Old Testament.

Another aspect of the Old Testament which is pertinent in this background study is its usage of the metaphor of begetting. In Psalm 2:7 a close religious relationship between a man and God is described with the words "this day I have begotten you." Here Yahweh's adoption of the newly anointed king is spoken in terms of begetting. In addition, Isaiah 66:7-9 employs the figure of birth to tell about Zion begetting the new Israel at the eschatological return of the Lord. These two passages and other examples⁹⁵ in the Old Testament show that the imagery of birth was natural to Israel. Moreover, because the figure in Psalm 2:7 carries a religious connotation concerning the relationship established between God and the king and because it was well known in the first century A. D., it is possible that this passage may have partially influenced the New Testament writers who make use of the metaphor of spiritual birth.

95. Proverbs 8:22-31 and Deut. 32:18. Cf. Jer. 2:27.

Furthermore, there are passages in the Old Testament describing a future inward renewal which can be considered as possible prefigurements of inward regeneration in the New Testament. For example, Jeremiah's thought of the new covenant appears to foreshadow somewhat the Johannine doctrine of regeneration.⁹⁶ And it has been rightly said that "the Old Testament doctrine of the Spirit of God is in closest genetic relation to the New Testament doctrine of man's renewal by the Spirit of Christ."⁹⁷ The Old Testament states that God's power will transform this present world in order to accomplish the renewal of the people and the world in the future. For this reason, the prophets describe the "new heart" which will be given to individual men at the end of this age.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the New Testament exceeds the Old Testament by presenting the new creation of the individual in the present time. And the concept in the New Testament is lifted to a new height by its being regeneration through the work of Jesus Christ.

96. J. P. Hyatt, I. B., V, 1039.

97. H. Wheeler Robinson, The Christian Doctrine of Man (third edition; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1952), p. 65.

98. Th. C. Vriezen, An Outline of Old Testament Theology, p. 354. Edmond Jacob, op. cit., p. 166.

II. RABBINIC JUDAISM

In the past it has been customary for New Testament scholars, who were generally more deeply steeped in Hellenistic studies than Judaistic literature, to find the background of the primitive-Christian conception of regeneration in the Hellenistic milieu. However, the Jewish literature has been studied with new interest recently in order to point out Jewish affinities to various aspects of New Testament belief. Therefore, it is important to examine some of the more important Rabbinic parallels and observe their relationship to the primitive-Christian conception of regeneration.

As a preliminary, it is well here to remove a misconception concerning the circumcision of Jewish boys. Sometimes it is accepted as an established fact that Jewish circumcision meant a regeneration. Nevertheless, there is no indication that the circumcision of Jewish boys was understood as a spiritual rebirth.¹ In fact, it is expressly stated that circumcision is not a sacrament and does not give the Jew his religious character.² The Jewish boy, who has just been circumcised, has not passed from a situation of hostility to God to that of nearness to Him. It is true that circumcision confirmed his membership among the sacred people of God; yet, there was no radical change of his nature.

1. Erik Sjöberg, "Wiedergeburt und Neuschöpfung in palästinischen Judentum," S. T., Vol. IV, Fasc. I-II (1950), p. 45.

2. Kaufmann Kohler, "Circumcision," The Jewish Encyclopedia (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1903), IV, 95. In b 'Abodah Zarah 27a it is stated that if a male child has died in consequence of circumcision the next son is exempted from circumcision.

PROSELYTES

For the newly-received Gentile convert to Judaism the situation is entirely different from that of the Jewish child. The method by which a man was made a full proselyte was by the threefold rite: circumcision, immersion in water, and the presentation of an offering in the temple.³ Through conversion to Judaism, the Rabbis considered the proselyte as coming into a new existence.⁴ A clear example of this is found in Genesis Rabbah (XXXIX.14) where it is stated:⁵

AND ABRAM TOOK SARAI HIS WIFE, AND LOT THEIR BROTHER'S SON, AND ALL THEIR SUBSTANCE WHICH THEY HAD GATHERED, AND THE SOULS THAT THEY HAD MADE IN HARAN (Genesis 12:5). R. Leazar [beginning of IV A. D.] observed in the name of R. Jose B. Zimra [middle of III A.D.]: If all the nations assembled to create one insect they could not endow it with life, yet you say, AND THE SOULS THAT THEY HAD MADE! It refers, however, to the proselytes (which they had made). Then let it say, 'That they had converted'; why THAT THEY HAD MADE? That is to teach you that he who brings a Gentile near (to God) is as though he created him.

A similar thought is set forth in The Song of Songs Rabbah (I. 3,3):⁶

3. b Yebamoth 47b. (The b before a tractate denotes The Babylonian Talmud.) In the case of women only baptism and a sacrifice were required. After the destruction of the temple, the sacrifice was discontinued. Cf. G. F. Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), I, 331 f. All references to proselytes are to full proselytes.

4. F. Büchsel and K. H. Rengstorff, " γενησάτω ", T.W.N.T., I, 664.

5. Midrash Rabbah, Sonc. ed., I, 324. The dates of the generations of the Rabbis throughout this section are those given by Erik Sjöberg, S. T., IV, p. 46, n. 3. Hereinafter brackets indicate my insertions.

6. Midrash Rabbah, Sonc. ed., IX, 39 (a saying of R. Hunia (Nahunya), IV A. D.). "To come or be brought under the wings of the Shekinah" became a technical designation for converts to Judaism.

if a man brings one creature under the wings of the shechinah, it is accounted to him as if he had created him and formed him and moulded him.

The Gentile had been far from God, but when he was converted to Judaism, he was brought immediately near to God and under the wings of the divine majesty. He had been living the profane life and through his conversion he had entered directly into the condition of holiness.⁷ That he had now come into the condition of holiness stresses the hopelessness of his previous religious situation.

The conversion of the proselyte to Judaism was a drastic happening which could be compared to his creation. To speak of being created, formed, and moulded refers to the creation of a man in his mother's womb. In this way, the thought of the new creation and that of regeneration are set forth in the same passage. The proselyte experienced something which was parallel to his first entrance into life. He became like to one newly created and newly born.

Another example of the radical change wrought by conversion to Judaism is found in b Yebamoth 48b:⁸

R. Hanania [90-130 A. D.] son of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: Why are proselytes at the present time oppressed and visited with afflictions? Because they had not observed the seven Noahide commandments. R. Jose [b. Halaftha, 130-160 A. D.] said: One who has become a proselyte is like a child newly born. Why then are proselytes oppressed?--Because they are not so well acquainted with the details of the commandments as the Israelites.

7. K. H. Rengstorff, Seder Naschim (Band 3 of Die Tosefta: Text, Übersetzung, Erklärung, ed. by G. Kittel and K. H. Rengstorff; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1953), p. 103, n. 9 (Tosefta Yebamoth XII, 2).

8. Bab. Tal., Sonc. ed., Part III, Vol. I, p. 320.

In the discussion concerning the reason for the suffering of the proselytes, R. Jose said they do not suffer for sins during their former lives, because when they were converted to Judaism they became like newly born children. The proselyte sinned in disobeying the Noachian commands during his heathen life; however, since he has been converted to Judaism a complete breach with the past has taken place so that God does not punish him for deeds done before his new birth.

The statement by R. Jose concerning the similarity of the proselyte with a newly born child is the oldest record of this concept in Rabbinic literature.⁹ It is noteworthy that R. Jose considers this thought as an established rule by the manner in which he inserts it into his argument. Furthermore, the same statement of the proselyte being like a new-born child is expressed on several other occasions.¹⁰

At this point, it is important to mention that the idea here is a comparison. The description in b Yebamoth 48b states that the proselyte resembles a newly born child, but it does not say the proselyte is a newly born child. Also, the comparison is related to the proselyte himself and it is not stated that the baptism or circumcision is a birth.

The main meaning of the comparison between the proselyte and the new-born child is to stress that the proselyte was considered to have no earlier existence from the time of his conversion. After his conversion, the proselyte's past has absolutely ceased to exist.¹¹ His previous life

9. Erik Sjöberg, S. T., IV, 46.

10. Cf. b Yebamoth 22a, 62a, 97b, and b Bekoroth 47a, also in a small non-canonical tractate, Gerim II, 5, published in Seven Minor Treatises, trans. Michael Higger (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1930), p. 50.

11. F. Büchsel and K. H. Rengstorff, op. cit., T.W.N.T., I, 666. Emil G. Hirsch, "Proselyte," The Jewish Encyclopedia, X, 223.

has disappeared and he begins life at the zero point as an infant child. One aspect of this beginning a new existence is that all previous sins are forgiven.¹² The proselyte had accumulated guilt from disobeying the seven Noachian commands. Upon coming into Judaism, however, the guilt of his former life was no longer laid to his account.

Another concrete application of having no earlier existence was the fact that the proselyte's former family connections and all relationships with the heathen past are severed.¹³ The proselyte was considered such a completely new creature that legally he might marry his own mother or sister. But the Rabbis forbade such unions for fear it might be said the proselyte exchanged a stricter religion for an easy-going one.¹⁴ Therefore, it is true that the proselyte no longer had any family tree upward, but only downward.¹⁵

"Becoming as newly born" had more than legal implications. It included a religious connotation because this phrase also conveyed the thought that God forgave the proselyte and freed him from his past guilt.¹⁶ The phrase describes a real change by which he renounces his pagan religion and experiences a renewal in his relationship to God. Nevertheless, the

12. b Yebamoth 48 b, Bab. Tal., Sonc. ed., Part III, Vol. I, p. 320, n. 6. F. Gavin, The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments (London: S. P. C. K., 1928), p. 52.

13. b Yebamoth 62a.

14. b Yebamoth 22a.

15. b Baba Kamma 88a. And b Yebamoth 97b, Bab. Tal., Sonc. ed., Part III, Vol. II, p. 668, n. 3.

16. b Yebamoth 48b, Bab. Tal., Sonc. ed., Pt. III, Vol. I, p. 320, n.6.

conversion does not mean that the proselyte becomes a regenerated person in the ethical sense of the New Testament.¹⁷ Rabbinic literature does not describe in detail what the proselyte has gone through in the conversion.

Not only has the conversion affected his relationship to God but also his relationship to the people of Israel. When the Gentile takes the threefold initiation rite, he becomes in point of law an Israelite in all respects.¹⁸

There are some writers¹⁹ who would seize one aspect of the threefold initiation rite, such as the ritual immersion, and affirm that regeneration is effected in this manner. Yet, there has not been brought to light any inference in early Rabbinic literature which says that rebirth was wrought by the proselyte baptism.²⁰ Consequently, the sentence--"a proselyte is like a new-born child"--does not seem to prove conclusively that one aspect, such as circumcision or proselyte baptism, effected regeneration.²¹

17. H. L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1924), II, 423. Hereinafter referred to as Strack-Billerbeck.

18. b Yebamoth 47b. And b Baba Kamma 88a, Bab. Tal., Sonc. ed., Pt. IV, Vol. I, p. 506, n. 10.

19. For example, Kaufmann Kohler, Jewish Theology (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918), p. 417. S. Krauss, "Baptism," The Jewish Encyclopedia, II, 499 f.

20. F. Gavin, op. cit., p. 53. Cf. Wilhelm Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter, ed. Hugo Gressmann (Vol. XXI of H.z.N.T., third edition; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1926), pp. 199 f. G. F. Moore, op. cit., I, 334. Emil Schürer, A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1924), Div. II, Vol. II, p. 323.

21. Erik Sjöberg. S. T., IV, 51. Against H. H. Rowley, "Jewish Proselyte Baptism and the Baptism of John," Hebrew Union College Annual, XV (1940), 327-329.

On the other hand, it is true that the Gentile going over to Judaism is described with the figure of rebirth. And the term "conversion" is employed to designate the radical change which has taken place in the life situation of the proselyte. The conversion to Judaism was spoken of as a new birth, but with the idea of a new beginning rather than a transformation of nature.²² Through the initiation, the convert became "holy," that is, God's property.²³ The proselyte, thereby, became a "son of Abraham," a member of a new race, and was adopted into the family of God. Looking at the "new birth" of the proselyte from this point of view, one may see a possible point of contact between Judaism and the idea of regeneration in the New Testament.

ISRAEL ON SINAI

Another occasion on which the thought of rebirth occurs in Rabbinical literature is in reference to Israel on Sinai when the covenant was made. In the Old Testament, The Song of Solomon describes the bride speaking to the groom:

I would lead you and bring you
into the house of my mother,
and into the chamber of her that conceived me
(mg. of mother; she will teach me).
I would give you spiced wine to drink,
the juice of my pomegranates. (8:2)

The interpretation in the Midrash Rabbah applies these words to the situation of Israel on Sinai. The Song of Songs Rabbah (VIII, 2, 1)

22. Miller Burrows, *An Outline of Biblical Theology*, p. 186.

23. J. Weiss, The History of Primitive Christianity, I, 172.

comments: ²⁴

I WOULD LEAD THEE, AND BRING THEE: I would lead thee from the upper world to the lower. I WOULD BRING THEE INTO MY MOTHER'S HOUSE: this is Sinai. R. Berekiah said: Why is Sinai called MY MOTHER'S HOUSE? Because there Israel became like a new-born child. THAT THOU MIGHTEST INSTRUCT ME: in precepts and good deeds. I WOULD CAUSE THEE TO DRINK OF SPICED WINE: this refers to the great collections of Mishnah, such as the Mishnah of R. Akiba. OF THE JUICE OF MY POMEGRANATE: this refers to the haggadahs which are tasty like a pomegranate.

R. Berekiah (end of IV A.D.) asserts that The Song of Solomon 8:2 should be interpreted as a reference to the Israelites becoming like new-born children at Mt. Sinai. When the covenant was made between Yahweh and Israel on Sinai, the people entered into a completely new religious situation which was described with the figure of birth.

Since their relationship to God was established on a new foundation, their previous religious disobedience was no longer taken into account. Sinai marked a completely new beginning for Israel. With the establishment of the covenant, the Israelites became as infant children which are just now beginning life.

DELIVERANCE FROM DISTRESS

An occasion in which the Rabbis used both the figure of rebirth and that of the new creation is in reference to the removal of dangers.

The Deliverance of the Israelites

The Song of Songs Rabbah (VIII. 5, 1) records that God spoke to

²⁴. Midrash Rabbah, Sonc. ed., IX, 303. The underline is my insertion. In addition, Pesiktha Kahana 61b refers to the children of Israel on Sinai as being made like year-old children. Cf. Strack-Billerbeck, II, 423.

the Israelites on Sinai:²⁵

'If you accept My law, well and good; but if not, I will press this mountain down upon you and crush you'. THERE THY MOTHER WAS IN TRAVAIL WITH THEE. Was it there that she was in travail? R. Berekiah [end of IV A. D.] said: It is the same as when a man goes into a dangerous place and escapes safely, and a friend on meeting him says to him: 'Did you pass by that dangerous place? What a danger you ran! Your mother has really borne you there! You have really been created afresh'!

This passage gives a national proverb concerning a person safely escaping from a dangerous place. Because of this experience, the person was figuratively described as repeating the birth from his mother. He was also said to be created a "new creature" in a non-religious sense.²⁶

At the same time, this common connotation is applied to the situation of Israel on Sinai. Thus, the common conception is related to Israel's deliverance from danger on Sinai, according to R. Berekiah, were exposed to a severe danger, but they had gotten away with their lives by the acceptance of the Torah. Thus, Israel's deliverance on that day was compared to a new birth and to becoming a "new creature."²⁷ Both the figure of the new birth and that of the new creation were used here in the same sense. It was considered that through the deliverance from danger they had given up the old life and had received new life.

25. Midrash Rabbah, Song. ed., IX, 304. Furthermore, Leviticus Rabbah XXX. 3 uses the expression "a new creature" to describe the change which was brought about upon Israel through the deliverance from distress to new life.

26. Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., II, 422.

27. Strack-Billerbeck (Ibid.) even use the expression "eine neue Kreatur" in their translation of The Song of Songs Rabbah VIII. 5, 1.

The Messiah's Deliverance

Not only is Israel at Sinai described with the figure of deliverance from distress, but the same expression is used concerning the Messiah. The Messiah's deliverance from distress is expressed in terms of birth. And it is asserted that God shall end the troubles of the suffering Messiah by finally creating him to be a new creature. The interpretation given in Midrash Psalm II. 9 is:²⁸

This day have I begotten thee (Psalm 2:7).

R. Huna [c. 350 A. D.] said: Suffering is divided into three portions: one, the Patriarchs and all the generations of men took; one, the generation that lived in the time of (Hadrian's) persecution took; and one, the generation of the lord Messiah will take. When the time comes, the Holy One blessed be He, will say: "I must create the Messiah--a new creation." As the Scripture says, This day have I begotten thee--that is, on the very day of redemption, God will create the Messiah.

In this passage the thoughts of the new birth and of the new creation are placed parallel to one another. The deliverance from distress in this case is an eschatological happening. The sufferings of the Messiah will come to an end because God will give him a new birth and make him to be a new creature. It is then the Messiah becomes Master. Therefore, the future deliverance of the Messiah is described as a new creation by using the terms of birth.

The Deliverance of Moses

Moses' deliverance from a distressing handicap is spoken of in terms of birth, too. In the same context, the correction of Moses' speech is compared to his creation in his mother's womb. Exodus Rabbah 3:15

28. The Midrash on Psalms, op. cit., I, p. 41.

interprets Exodus 4:12 in the following manner:²⁹

What is the meaning of AND I WILL TEACH THEE (HORETHIKA) WHAT THOU SHALT SPEAK? R. Abahu [beginning of IV A. D.] said: I will throw (moreh) My words into thy mouth as with an arrow; as it says: or shot through--yaroh (Exodus 10:13). R. Simeon [beginning of IV A. D.] said: I will create thee into a new being, as it is said: 'And the woman conceived--watahar' (Exodus 2:2).

When his speech defect was corrected, Moses is said to be like one who was created into a new being. The healing of his physical defect was spoken of as a new creation.³⁰ And the new creation of Moses is expressed by the use of the metaphor of birth. Therefore, in the description of Moses' deliverance from his speech handicap, creation and birth are made parallel to one another.

PARDON FROM SIN

Although the Rabbinical material concerning the pardon of sin on the Day of Atonement does not employ the figure of birth, it does make use of the metaphor of creation and thereby justifies its consideration at this point.³¹ The transformation of a man to be a "new creature" was expressed in reference to the pardoning of sin on New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement. In ḥ Rosh Hashana (IV. 8), R. Elazar b. Jose (c. 400 A. D.) said in the name of R. Jose b. Kazzrata:³²

29. Midrash Rabbah, Sonc. ed., III, 74.

30. Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., II, 421.

31. Ibid., II, 422.

32. Translation by C. G. Montefiore and H. Loewe, A Rabbinic Anthology (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1938), pp. 26 f. The ḥ before a tractate signifies The Jerusalem Talmud.

In all other places it is said, 'Ye shall offer a burnt offering', but in Numbers XXIX, 2 (on the New Year offering) it is said, 'Ye shall make an offering'. Why? God says, 'Since ye have come before me this day for judgment, and have gone forth in peace, I regard you as if you were created as new creatures before me'.

Although this passage does not contain the metaphor of birth, it describes the atonement which removes sin, creates a new being, and breaks down the barrier between man and God.³³ On New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement, God forgave the sins of the people. In this way, they were absolved of past sins and experienced something which corresponds to their first entry into life. God regards them as if they were created into new creatures.

The thought of a new creation through pardoning at the New Year and the Day of Atonement is more fully explained in Midrash Psalm 102 sec. 3:³⁴

This shall be written for the generation to come; and a people that shall be created shall praise the Lord (Psalm 102:19 Hebr.) . . . The Rabbis said, however: These words refer to those generations that are guilty because of their wicked deeds, but who come and repent and pray before Thee on New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement, and thereby scour off their deeds, so that the Holy One, blessed be He, creates them anew as it were. And what are they to do then? They are required to take into their hands their citrons and their palm-branches, the willows of the brook and the myrtles, and praise Thee. Hence And a people that shall be created shall praise the Lord.

If the Israelite does penance on the Day of Atonement, God creates him anew, that is, He looks upon him as a new creature and a new-born child free from sin and guilt. However, this does not bring about a permanent ethical change.³⁵ Penance on the Day of Atonement produces a new

33. Ibid., p. 230.

34. The Midrash on Psalms, op. cit., II, 155.

35. Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., II, 422.

relationship to God, a forgiveness of sin, and the beginning of a clean slate with which to calculate later sins. After the Day of Atonement, the sins one commits are laid to his account until he does penance the next year on the Day of Atonement which again wipes the slate clean.

Therefore, they begin a new life without the burden of previous sins after the Day of Atonement; however, this does not suggest the gift of any new capacity to carry out God's will.³⁶ They begin living without the burden of previous sins, but they begin living in the same situation as previously and with the same capacities.

RESURRECTION FROM THE DEAD

In Rabbinical literature, the new birth is brought to light in the thought of the resurrection from the dead. Although the idea of a final new creation of man and the cosmos is known in Judaism, the thought of the final renewal is not expressed in terms of a new birth except in a very limited manner. And the ethical renewal of man at the end of this age is not represented as a regeneration.³⁷ The renewal of the cosmos is not spoken of as a rebirth. Nevertheless, the final rebirth of man is suggested indirectly in the resurrection.

The Resurrection Made Parallel to Creation in the Womb

The parallelism of birth and resurrection is characteristic of Jewish belief.³⁸ The Jewish reasoning was that just as man is created

36. Erik Sjöberg, S. T., IV, 59 f.

37. Ibid., p. 75.

38. Harald Riesenfeld, "The Resurrection in Ezekiel XXXVII and in the Dura-Europos Paintings," p. 11, n. 2.

in the womb of his mother, so he will be created anew at the beginning of life after this, and just as the creation of the embryo is a miracle which God accomplishes, so resurrection will be such a miracle effected by God. With this in mind, the resurrection is parallel to some extent to the creation of man in the mother's womb and to birth.

Since the final renewal was brought about by the act of God, it was natural for the Jewish faith to think of a new creation rather than a rebirth. Actually, the idea that God may give birth to something is said to be an impossible thought in genuine Judaism.³⁹

Nevertheless, there is in Judaism a parallelism between the resurrection of man and his birth, because in both cases man receives life from God. This idea is set forth in a statement by R. Gamaliel II (90-130 A. D.) recorded in b Sanhedrin 91a:⁴⁰

If he [God] can fashion [man] from water [viz., the sperm], surely he can do so from clay! [i.e., the dust into which the dead are turned].

In the resurrection man experiences something which corresponds to his birth. Yet, the resurrection is not expressed in terms of a birth but in terms of a creation. The resurrection--in spite of being parallel to the first beginning of man's life--is thought of as a new creation and not as a regeneration. Since the resurrection is compared to the creation in the mother's womb, the parallelism has the point of view of the new creation.

39. F. Büchsel and K. H. Rengstorf, op. cit., T.W.N.T., I, 667. Strack-Billerbeck, II, 421 f.

40. Bab. Tal., Sonc. ed., Part IV, Vol. VI, p. 607 with notes 4 and 5 inserted.

Sheol Compared to the Mother's Womb

A second manner in which birth and resurrection were placed parallel to one another in Rabbinic literature was by comparing the mother's womb and Sheol. This comparison is presented in b. Berakoth 15b⁴¹

R. Tabi further said in the name of R. Josiah [beginning of IV A. D.]: What is meant by the text, There are three things which are never satisfied, . . . the grave and the barren womb? It is to teach you that just as the womb takes in and gives forth again, so the grave takes in and will give forth again. And have we not here a conclusion a fortiori: if the womb which takes in silently gives forth with loud noise (The crying of the child), does it not stand to reason that the grave which takes in with loud noise (The wailing of the mourners) will give forth with loud noise? Here is a refutation of those who deny that resurrection is taught in the Torah.

The comparison between the mother's womb and Sheol is that both receive and give forth. The mother's womb receives in procreation and gives forth in birth; whereas, Sheol receives in burial and gives forth in resurrection. Since this metaphor relates to the birth process, it can be said that the thought of rebirth at the final resurrection is lightly suggested.

CONCLUSION

In Rabbinic Judaism, the thought of a new creation was familiar in different variations.⁴² On the other hand, the concept of regeneration is found more rarely. There is no Hebrew or Aramaic word for regeneration.⁴³ Even when the idea of regeneration is found, it is parallel to the thought

⁴¹. Bab. Tal., Sonc. ed., Pt. I, Vol. I, p. 91. Similar to b. Sanhedrin 92a. Cf. Harald Riesenfeld, "The Resurrection in Ezekiel XXXVII and in the Dura-Europos Paintings," p. 11.

⁴². Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., II, 421-422. Erik Sjöberg, S. T., IV, 53 ff.

⁴³. Gustaf Dalman, The Words of Jesus, trans. D. M. Kay (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1909), p. 177.

of the new creation and often slides over into the thought of the new creation. Therefore, the conceptions of birth and of creation coincide often in Jewish thinking.

One hindrance to conclusive statements concerning the influence of orthodox Judaism upon primitive Christianity is the date of Rabbinic quotations. For example, the earliest recorded statement referring to a proselyte being like a child newly born was made by Rabbi Jose b. Halefta (130-160 A. D.) who considered this thought to be an established rule by the way he inserts it into his argument. Yet, many of the Rabbinic quotations cited in this study are dated as being from the third century A. D. and later. The post-Christian date of the materials leaves an opening for the possibility of Christian influence upon Rabbinic statements. Thus, it is possible--though not easily validated--that orthodox Judaism may have been influenced by Christianity.

The concept of regeneration in Rabbinic Judaism is found in the sense that man in certain situations experiences some things which correspond to (1) his first entry into life, (2) his creation in his mother's womb, and (3) his birth. The thought of regeneration in one or more of these three aspects is represented in each of the above topics of this section.

Through his conversion to Judaism, the proselyte begins a new existence. The change wrought upon the proselyte is compared to his first creation and is spoken of in terms of a new birth. In a somewhat similar manner, Israel on Sinai entered an entirely new situation when the covenant was made. At Sinai, they became like new-born children who are just beginning their lives. The ones delivered from distress were considered

to be born anew. This deliverance was used in reference to Israel's deliverance on Sinai and to the Messiah's deliverance from distress at the end of this age. Moses was created anew when his speech was corrected. This relatively minor change upon Moses was described as parallel to his creation in his mother's womb and to his birth. Furthermore, pardon from sin was granted to the Israelites on New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement. The Israelite who did penance on the Day of Atonement was changed to become "a new creature." Finally, life was given afresh to the ones resurrected from the dead similar to the manner in which life was given to them in the mother's womb. In the final resurrection, Sheol gives forth the dead ones to life as the mother's womb gives forth in birth.

In each topic of this section on Judaism except the one dealing with the pardoning of sin on the Day of Atonement, the figure of birth is clearly expressed or indirectly suggested. The discussion of the pardoning on the Day of Atonement is justified by reason of its importance as an aspect of the new creation doctrine in Judaism.⁴⁴

After the explanation concerning the uses of the metaphor of birth, it is necessary to state that the tendency in Judaism is much more to speak of a new creation rather than of a regeneration. This fact becomes understandable from the conception of God in Rabbinic Judaism. The Jewish mind trusts the thought of God creating something, but is opposed to the thought of God giving birth to anything. Therefore, a regeneration by an act of God was difficult to bring into a Jewish discussion. Only when God was not thought of as subject, as with Sheol giving forth to the dead ones, did the figure of birth allow itself to stick.

⁴⁴. Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., II, 422.

From this section, it is seen that the thought of the new creation lay ready in Judaism and was able to be taken over by primitive Christianity. However, the New Testament thought of regeneration in its entirety does not allow itself to be derived off-hand from the Jewish conception.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, there was in all probability some development from the Jewish concept of regeneration to the New Testament thought of regeneration. This can be most clearly seen in relation to two ideas. First, the proselyte's conversion to Judaism and entry into a completely new existence by the threefold initiation (circumcision, immersion in water, and the presentation of an offering in the temple) and was somewhat similar to the Christian's conversion, baptism, and entry into the church.⁴⁶ Since the proselyte's conversion to Judaism was spoken of in terms of a new birth, this may have been a beginning point for the development of the idea of rebirth in the New Testament. Second, the parallelism between the resurrection and the first creation of man in the mother's womb seems to form a beginning point for the eschatological point of view of the primitive

45. Erik Sjöberg, S. T., IV, p. 84.

46. It might be pointed out that Joachim Jeremias [Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus (Vol. IX of Das Neue Testament Deutsch, sixth edition; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953), p. 66] declares that the connection of rebirth with baptism in Titus 3:5 is explained by the fact that Judaism taught that the proselyte would be similar to a just-born child or would be newly created at his conversion. In addition to this, J. Philip Hyatt ["The Origin and Meaning of Christian Baptism," Encounter XXI (1960), 257] believes that proselyte baptism originated by the New Testament period, although it may not have had at this time just the same form as is found in the Talmud. However, the weaknesses of these positions is that we cannot prove conclusively that there was a proselyte baptism in pre-Christian time, and the earliest source which connects the metaphor of new birth with the proselyte initiation is from R. Jose b. Halaftha (130-160 A. D.). Vide supra at footnotes 9 and 20 in this section.

Christian conception of the new creation and of regeneration.

Probably, the New Testament conceptions of new creation and of regeneration have been influenced by the related ideas in Rabbinic Judaism. It is the scarcity of material which hinders the tracing of this development. Actually, however, we are obliged to turn to Hellenistic Judaism as is exemplified in Philo Judaeus for more light on the development of the idea of regeneration. It was in Philo that God was spoken of as a procreator. This matter will be examined in the next section.

III. HELLENISTIC JUDAISM: PHILO JUDAEUS

The best known and most representative figure of Hellenistic Judaism is Philo of Alexandria (c. 25 B. C. - 40 A. D.). The writings of Philo enable us to see the kind of religious philosophy which emerged within Judaism. Philo had an appreciation of Greek philosophy but remained at heart loyal to the practices of the Jewish tradition. In an attempt to reconcile Greek philosophy and his own religion, Philo read into the Jewish Scriptures whatever he considered worthwhile from the systems of Greek philosophy. To accomplish this, he employed the method of allegorical interpretation. The main reason for doing this was to commend the Jewish religion to the Gentiles. Because he endeavored to combine dissimilar elements--Jewish religion and Hellenistic philosophy--it is not unusual that his formulations should contain contradictory features. Nevertheless, we shall endeavor to set forth the main trend of Philo's thought concerning regeneration.

Before discussing Philo's idea of regeneration through mystic experience, we should first look at his use of two important terms. The first is *παλιγγενεσία*. Excluding Philo's discussion of the Stoic concept expressed by palingenesia,¹ he also makes use of the word in its cosmological sense in describing Noah and his sons as "leaders of the regeneration, inaugurators of a second cycle, spared as embers to

1. Philo uses this term nine times to discuss the Stoic idea of the renewal of the universe after a periodic cataclysm. Vide supra in the section on "Regeneration in Stoic Philosophy," Chapter I.

rekindle mankind."² In addition, palingenesia is used by Philo in the sense of resurrection from the dead.³ At death, the rational soul, which has been united to the body, will then no longer be joined to the material but will be joined to the immaterial. This is a new birth in one sense, but not in the sense of which we are most interested in this study, that is, the new birth in this life.

The second important term is $\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu$. The metaphor of divine "begetting" is frequently used in Philo.⁴ He terms the creative activity of God as "begetting."⁵ In this way the Alexandrian applies the figure of begetting to the creation of the Logos, of the world, of Adam, and of plants and animals. And although the Hellenistic Jew does not use the expression of divine "begetting" in reference to God's adoption of Israel, he approaches this thought by saying that the souls of the Israelites are derived from divine seed.⁶ Even the reasoning faculty

2. De Vita Mosis 11, 65. The sections of Philo's treatises comply with those given in L.C.L.

3. De Cherubim 114. Cf. Harry Austryn Wolfson, Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1947), I, 405. Erwin R. Goodenough, An Introduction to Philo Judaeus (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 152. Again Philo employs palingenesia in the sense of the individual reviving of Abel in the birth of Seth (De Posteritate Caini 124).

4. Note $\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in H. Leisegang, Index Philonis (Vol. VIII of Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt, eds. Leopold Cohn and Paul Wendland; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1926), Part I, pp. 153-155.

5. Legum Allegoriae 111, 219.

6. F. Büchsel, Johannes und der hellenistische Synkretismus, (Gutersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1928), p. 60.

(*διὰ νοῦ*) is begotten by God.⁷ Since "the Architect who made this universe was at the same time the father of what was thus born," God is the progenitor of everything.⁸ Thus, Philo understands the metaphor of begetting either in reference to God's creative activity or to his endowment of men with spiritual, ethical and religious gifts.⁹

At this point, we turn to investigate the line of reasoning which led Philo to hold to the concept of regeneration in this life. The experience of regeneration involves the relationship of man with God. To the Alexandrian, God was exalted above humanity; yet, man in one aspect was not so far removed from God. Man has a twofold nature: soul and body. Man's body was fashioned by the Creator using clay, while the soul proceeded from no created thing but from the Father of all things.¹⁰ The twofold nature of man results from the dual origin of man, that is, a being of heavenly origin on the one hand and of earthly origin on the other.

Due to his physical constitution, man was far removed from God. Yet, due to his soul, man was raised above the earthly level of existence. Therefore, "man is the borderland between mortal and immortal nature, partaking of each so far as is needful."¹¹ Because of this higher

7. Quod Deus immutabilis sit 47. De Somniis i, 181.

8. De Ebrietate 30 (Philo, L.C.L., III, p. 333). Vide F. Büchsel, Johannes und der hellenistische Synkretismus, p. 59.

9. W. F. Howard, Christianity according to St. John, p. 202. C. K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition, p. 9.

10. De Opificio Mundi 134 f.

11. De Opificio Mundi 135. E. T. by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, Philo, L.C.L., I, 106.

element, the rational soul,¹² man possessed the capacity for some sort of fellowship with the deity.

THE VISION OF GOD

The stages preparatory to the knowledge or vision of God are as follows: first, the way of ascetic practice, of turning away from the life of sensation and passion; second, the way *κατωθεν ανω* (lit. from below upwards), of inference from the world to its Creator; third, the way of contemplation of the eternal *ἰδεναι*.¹³ For the soul which starts out in quest of fellowship with the divine, there is assurance of divine help.¹⁴

In the central experience of religion, the mediators (the Loges, the powers, and the angels) were mostly overlooked by Philo and the soul was to be alone with God. The crowning achievement of the pious spirit is the vision of God. Even in the face of his idea of the transcendence of God, Philo declared that the direct vision of God was possible for humanity. There are some who may lift up their eyes above and beyond creation and obtain a clear vision of the uncreated One.¹⁵ Some aspects

12. Philo gave a twofold division of the soul: (1) the irrational part of the soul the principle of life in matter which is possessed both by men and animals. (2) the rational part of the soul, the impress of divine creation which is the element linking the human with the divine. When we speak of the soul, the reference will be to the rational part of the soul unless otherwise indicated.

13. C. H. Dodd, *I.F.G.*, p. 61.

14. *De Posteritate Gaii* 31.

15. *Legum Allegoriae* iii, 100.

of the vision are explained when Philo describes the discipline of the wrestling soul:¹⁶

a bright incorporeal ray, purer than ether, suddenly shining upon it, revealed the ideal world under guidance. But the Guide, encompassed by unstained light, was hard to behold or to divine, for the soul's vision was obscured by the splendour of the rays. Then the Father and Saviour, seeing her genuine longing and yearning, pitied her, and imparting power to the approach of her sight, did not withhold the vision of himself, in so far as it was possible for a created and mortal nature to contain it.

Thereby, the experience is set forth as a mental illumination.

Some further aspects of the meaning of the mystical experience are seen in a description of Philo's own spiritual illumination. The contemplation of the uncreated results in an ecstasy with which Philo was personally familiar. Concerning himself Philo said:¹⁷

I feel no shame in recording my own experience . . . On some occasions, after making up my mind to follow the usual course of writing on philosophical tenets, and knowing definitely the substance of what I was to set down I have found my understanding incapable of giving birth to a single idea, and have given it up without accomplishing anything . . . On other occasions, I have approached my work empty and suddenly become full, the ideas falling in a shower from above and being sown invisibly, so that under the influence of the Divine possession I have been filled with corybantic frenzy and been unconscious of anything, place, persons present, myself, words spoken, lines written. For I obtained language, ideas, and enjoyment of light, keenest vision, pellucid distinctness of objects, such as might be received through the eyes as the result of clearest showing.

These personal experiences helped Philo to describe the soul's vision of God. Philo's illumination came while he was studying the Torah with the

16. De Praemiis et Poenis, sec. 37-39. E. T. by H. A. A. Kennedy, Philo's Contribution to Religion (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1919), pp. 201 f. Cf. also Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin iv, sec. 1.

17. De Migratione Abrahami sec. 34 f. E. T. by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, Philo, L.C.L., IV, 151 f.

intention of "writing on the doctrines of philosophy." The general point of view is that the God who spoke from Sinai once will speak again to each man who will prepare himself for the individual revelation. And there are some who consider that Philo's enlightenment in De Migratione Abraham sec. 34 f. has regenerative significance.¹⁸ It is important that Philo shows no thought of a new birth of man apart from the word.¹⁹ Philo searches the Scriptures because he believes that in them he has eternal life. The discussion leading up to Philo's account of his own illumination indicates that it was an experience like that of "the Rabbis who 'rewitness' the revelations of the past by devout study of the Torah."²⁰

THE MEANING AND RESULT OF THE VISION OF GOD

Next, it is necessary to consider the meaning of the vision of God for the Alexandrian Jew. Even in this life, according to Philo, as a result of forgetting oneself in the contemplation of God, a person may experience a rapturous sense of divine possession.²¹ On this point, the Alexandrian believed the experience was a transforming one as long as it lasted. The word "ecstasy" meant that man's rational soul not only left

18. Jesse S. Boughton, The Idea of Progress in Philo Judaeus (published Ph.D. thesis; New York: Columbia University, 1932), p. 99. Moreover, S. Angus [The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World (London: John Murray, 1929, pp. 32-35)] labels this experience of Philo as the unio mystica. However, the aim of this experience is not oneness with God but fellowship with God; not a loss of the human personality in God but sanctification of the personality through the presence of God.

19. W. F. Howard, Christianity according to St. John, p. 202. Cf. William Fairweather, Jesus and the Greeks (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1924), p. 208. C. H. Dodd, I.F.G., p. 59.

20. Jesse S. Boughton, op. cit., p. 104.

21. Émile Bréhier, Les Idées Philosophiques et Religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie (troisième édition; Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1950), pp. 295 f.

the body but even got outside itself,²² and when it departed the divine spirit came in and replaced the human intellect. Philo comments upon this in Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres:²³

So while the radiance of the mind is still all around us, when it pours as it were a noonday beam into the whole soul, we are self-contained, not possessed. But when it comes to its setting, naturally ecstasy and divine possession and madness fall upon us. For when the light of God shines, the human light sets; when the divine light sets the human dawns and rises. This is what regularly befalls the fellowship of the prophets. The mind is evicted at the arrival of the divine Spirit, but when that departs the mind returns to its tenancy. Mortal and immortal may not share the same home.

Thereby, we see that the transformation in Philo's estimation was not considered permanent in this passage, but only temporary.²⁴ The case of the prophet is cited as the best example of the replacement of human reason by the divine spirit. Most men could not continue to concentrate on God and to be removed from the world to the point which was necessary to retain the divine presence. For this reason, Philo believed that in most cases there was only a temporary impact of the divine spirit which effected a transformation in man.

On the other hand, there were a very few with whom the divine spirit remained permanently. They were ones who could continue to concentrate completely upon God and remain estranged from the world.²⁵

22. Note ἐξίσταται in Philo, Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres sec. 69 (L.C.L. IV, p. 316). Cf. H. R. Willoughby, Pagan Regeneration, p. 250.

23. Sec. 264 f. E. T. by F. H. Colson and the Rev. G. H. Whitaker, Philo, L.C.L., IV, p. 419.

24. Cf. also De Somniis 11, 233.

25. De Gigantibus sec. 53-55. "He (Moses) then has ever the divine spirit at his side, taking the lead in every journey of righteousness. . ." (Philo, L.C.L., II, 473).

Philo made a number of references to men of this type in his writings.²⁶

Yet, only Abraham, Moses and a very few of the great Jewish heroes were placed in this class.²⁷ In fact, Moses is the great example of this type of man.

The most explicit passage concerning the second birth is given in reference to Moses. Commenting of Exodus 24:16b, Philo wrote in Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum:²⁸

Why is the mountain covered with a cloud for six days, and Moses called above on the seventh day?

The even number, six, He apportioned both to the creation of the world and to the election of the contemplative nation, wishing to show first of all that He had created both the world and the nation elected for virtue. And in the second place, because He wishes the nation to be ordered and arrayed in the same manner as the whole world so that, as in the latter, it may have a fitting order in accord with the right law and canon of the unchanging placeless and unmoving nature of God. But the calling above of the prophet is a second birth better than the first (ἡ δὲ ἀνάκλησις τοῦ προφήτου δευτέρα γένεσις ἐστὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀμείνων). For the latter is mixed with a body and had corruptible parents, while the former is an unmixed and

26. Cf. The perfect ones who are called divine, De Virtutibus 177, De Abrahamo 47; the ones new and higher than our reasoning because of a God-inspired ecstasy, De Fuga et Inventione 168; the ones who have an unchanging soul who have access to the unchanging God, De Posteritate Gaii 27.

27. Seemingly for this reason, F. Büchsel asserts that Philo does not speak of men who are his contemporaries as being born of God. Cf. Die Johannesbriefe, p. 47.

28. ii, 46. E. T. by Ralph Marcus, Philo, Loeb Supplement, because only scattered Greek fragments of Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum have survived, it is necessary to rely upon the Armenian version published and translated in Latin by J. B. Aucher in 1826. Only part of this quoted section is preserved in Greek so one of the insertions is quoted from the Latin. The Greek and Latin texts are found in R. Reitzenstein, "Philos Lehre von der Wiedergeburt," Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1929), pp. 108-109.

simple soul of the sovereign, being changed from a productive to an unproductive form, which has no mother but only a father, who is (the Father) of all. Wherefore, the calling above or, as we have said, the divine birth [divina nativitas] happened to come about for him in accordance with the ever-virginal nature of the hebdomad. For he is called on the seventh day, in this (respect) differing from the earth-born first moulded man, for the latter came into being from the earth and with a body while the former (came) from the ether and without a body. Wherefore the most appropriate number, six, was assigned to the earth-born man, while to the one differently born (was assigned) the higher nature of the hebdomad.

The first reason for which Moses was "called above" is to show that his being called above corresponded to the creation of the world. Because of this, the second birth here can mean a second kind of creation.²⁹ This, it will be recalled, does not refer to Moses' translation at death, but to his experience of God on Sinai.³⁰ Since the prophet is described as a son of God--one who has no mother but only a father who is the Father of all--the further explanation given in the expression "divine birth" is not out of place in the passage. Therefore, the "second birth" is not a natural birth, but a regeneration.³¹ For the meaning of the earlier birth, it seems most probable from the context that the natural birth is to be

29. J. Dey, op. cit., p. 112.

30. Erwin R. Goodenough, By Light, Light (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935), p. 226. Otherwise by H. A. Wolfson, loc. cit.

31. Emile Brehier, op. cit., p. 242. For a specific origin of the "divine birth" idea here, A. D. Nock suggests as a possibility Psalm 2:7: "You are my son, today I have begotten you." Furthermore, Professor Nock asks the question: "If Philo had been thinking [in this passage] of anything like the mysteries, would he not have explored the possibilities of a divina natiuitas for all the men of vision here and now?" Cf. Nock's review of E. R. Goodenough's By Light, Light in Gnomon, Bd. 13 (1937), p. 159.

understood.³² Moses, who is called as a prophet on the mountain, is thereby born the second time. By this, there was created in Moses the miraculous hearing to receive the voice of God. From this discussion the significant terms may be equated as follows: "called above" equals "second birth" and "second birth" equals "divine birth."

A good summary of the meaning of this important passage is given by H. H. Schaeder. He concludes:³³

The calling above of the prophet, however, is a second γένεσις, which is better than the first one. For the first one is mixed, physical and originates from corruptible parents. The second, however, is the unmixed and simple spirit of the highest, which changes from created into uncreated essence and has no mother, but only a father, namely God, the Father of all. Therefore, the prophet becomes like the nature of the motherless and eternally virginal seven (ἑπτάς ἀμήτωρ καὶ δευτέρου θεός) through the call on the mountain, the δευτέρα γένεσις. Because when he is called up on the seventh day this means as far as his difference from the earth-born protoplast: to him the six has been assigned--in so far as he has been created on the sixth day--, to the prophet, however, the seven.

32. However, Joseph Pascher [Η ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ ΟΔΟΣ : Der Königsweg zu Wiedergeburt und Vergottung Philon von Alexandria (Band XVII, Heft 3/4 of Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, Padersborn)] considers the earlier birth to be the lower stage in the mystic journey of the soul. This is called the Logos stage where the soul is a "hearer" and becomes a son of the cosmic Logos, the "Zweiheit-Gott." Cited by Ralph Marcus, "Recent Literature on Philo (1924-1934)," Jewish Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut (New York: The Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1935), p. 476. Further on Pascher's view, see J. Dey, op. cit., p. 113.

33. H. H. Schaeder's book review of R. Reitzenstein, Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe in Gnomon, V (1929), 360. (English translation mine.)

Therefore, from Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum ii, 46, it is seen that the vision³⁴ of God is a regeneration.³⁵ By a steady contemplation of the divine, the regenerative process took place which lifted the man's intellect above the earthly to an ecstatic vision of God. In fact, the goal of the experience is the knowledge of God which

34. Reitzenstein [Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe, p. 106, n. 1 et passim] treats the passages in Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum ii, 29, 40, 45-46 as an "Aufstieg-mysterium." However, it seems preferable to use the phrase "vision of God" rather than "ascent to God" to demonstrate that the Philonic regenerative experience is not an absorption into the deity. It does not appear to be a complete unio-mysticism (oneness with God), but rather more a communio-mysticism (fellowship with God) with maybe a leaning somewhat toward a mysticism of aesthetic intoxication. C. H. Dodd (I.F.G., pp. 190-192) states that union with God, according to Philo, means the ecstatic possession by the divine; while in Hermetic Literature, union with God denotes a mystical absorption into the divine being. To look at it another way, on the one hand, Philo shares the religious outlook of Platonic philosophy; yet, on the other hand, he is deeply influenced by the piety of the Old Testament, which no amount of allegorical exegesis can wholly resolve into a mystical absorption in the One. To Philo, worship is important in man's experience of God; whereas, in the kind of mysticism which is unity with God there is no place properly for worship, because worship implies that there is a distance between the Creator and the creature. Vide H. R. Willoughby, Pagan Regeneration, p. 249. Adolf Deissmann, Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History, trans. William E. Wilson (second edition; New York: George H. Doran Company, 1926), pp. 149-153. C. H. Dodd, I.F.G., pp. 60-62.

35. There are some writers, such as H. R. Willoughby [Pagan Regeneration, p. 251], who would say that the Moses regeneration, according to Philo, results in a type of deification. They refer to Philo's Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum ii, 29 and ii, 40.

To this, C. H. Dodd (I.F.G., p. 60) replies, "He [Philo] has no doctrine of rebirth by which the human becomes divine, nor does he ever say that by knowing God man is deified." Yet, Philo himself appears to leave his thinking in this matter inconclusive by saying in De Vita Mosis i, 27 that he would leave the matter open whether to call Moses' mind human or divine or a mixture of the two. Cf. E. R. Goodenough, By Light, Light, pp. 228 f.

is eternal life.³⁶

CONCLUSION

To sum up Philo's idea of regeneration, it seems significant that the Alexandrian does not hesitate to use the metaphor of begetting in reference to God's creative activity. In this way, he appears to make God the progenitor of the Logos, the world, Adam, the reasoning faculty of man, as well as plants and animals. This certainly widens the use of the metaphor in reference to God compared to Rabbinic strictness which would avoid speaking of God as a begetter. In addition, Philo actually makes use of the metaphor of begetting concerning God's endowment of men with spiritual, ethical and religious gifts. While studying the Torah, Philo himself experienced mental illumination which may have had regenerative significance.

In this life, consequently, one may undergo divine possession which is a transforming experience as long as it lasts. In this experience, the divine spirit replaced the human intellect. It is usually a temporary transformation. Although for most people these illuminations were temporary, there were a few, according to Philo, with whom the divine spirit remained permanently because they could sustain their concentration upon God. For this reason Philonic regeneration is represented as a vision of God bringing about the knowledge of God which is eternal life. Only a few³⁷ of the great Jewish heroes, however, were placed in the class of those

36. Quod Deus immutabilis sit 143. C. H. Dodd, I.F.G., p. 61.

37. De Mutatione Nominum 138. Legum Allegoriae 111, 47.

who were permanently regenerated. Philo explicitly states that at Sinai Moses experienced "second birth" which took place without a mother but only through a father who is the Father of all.

Therefore, Philo appears to believe that there could be temporary transformation for some men at the time of spiritual illumination, while only a few great Jewish heroes could continue to concentrate upon God in order to be regenerated permanently. Nevertheless, Philo made his contribution to the development of the idea of regeneration by demonstrating that a Diaspora Jew could declare God to be the subject of a spiritual begetting of an individual. In other words the Alexandrian Jew directly stated that a man could receive the second birth or divine birth from the Heavenly Father. Thereby, this Hellenistic-Jewish thinker posits a usage which is an important step in the development of the idea of regeneration.

After having examined the "second birth" in Hellenistic Judaism as exemplified in Philo of Alexandria it is necessary also to investigate the idea of regeneration as found in a Jewish sect within Palestine. To this, we now proceed.

IV. THE QUMRAN LITERATURE

The discovery of the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 and subsequent finds in the area have revealed a considerable quantity of literature produced by a Jewish sect just after the composition of the latest books of the Old Testament, and just before and during the period when the New Testament was being written.¹ This literature has brought a much stronger light to bear on Judaism of the first century. And from the study of the literature of this dissident group of Jews, elements have been brought into prominence which previously could be overlooked.

In this way the Qumran literature opens up a new and most important avenue of approach for understanding the New Testament milieu and it appears possible that the world of ideas in which the Qumran sect moved may be one of the best possibilities offered for the comprehension of certain parts of the New Testament. Therefore, it is necessary for us to investigate aspects of the Qumran soteriology to see if it contains ideas which may throw light on regeneration in the New Testament.

A word of caution is in order here. It is too much to expect that an exhaustive treatment of the soteriological aspects which might have reference to the concept of regeneration in the Qumran sect could be presented. In order to accomplish this, it would be necessary to wait

1. Millar Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls (New York: The Viking Press, 1955), p. 327. Cf. also W. F. Albright, "Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of St. John," The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, eds. W. D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1956), p. 165.

for all of the manuscripts and fragments which have been found to be sorted out, deciphered and published. Actually, it will take the concerted effort of many scholars many years to study exhaustively and properly evaluate these finds. Furthermore, because manuscripts are damaged, others fragmentary, and some readings are conjectural, our knowledge of the Qumran literature is not complete. A study of the Qumran beliefs, therefore, will not result in permanent conclusions.²

MAN'S SINFULNESS AND HIS NEW CREATION

In Qumran theology, man is thought of mainly as a sinner who is utterly hopeless except for the grace of God. Man has no righteousness; all righteousness belongs to God.³ At the same time that man is thought of as sinful from the womb, he is characterized as being weak, insignificant, and transitory.⁴ It is the contrast between man and the overwhelming power and majesty of God which produces the acute realization of human weakness and sinfulness.⁵

Yet, not all men are hopelessly lost in sin. The Qumran sect held a dualistic conception of the universe.⁶ God created the spirits of light and darkness.⁷ In addition, God created man for dominion over the world

2. Géza Vermès, Discovery in the Judean Desert (New York: Desclee Company, 1956), p. 107.

3. Thanksgiving Psalms (1QH) iv. 30-32. In references to passages of 1QH, the Roman numerals refer to the columns as given in E. L. Sukenik (ed.), The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1955).

4. 1QH x. 3-4; vii. 32-xi. 31.

5. J. Licht, "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll," Israel Exploration Journal VI (1956), 10.

6. Cf. esp. the Manual of Discipline (1QS) iii, 13-iv, 26.

7. 1QS iii, 25.

and assigned him two spirits by which to walk "until the season of His visitation."⁸ As the result of the activities of these two spirits, there are two ways or "lots" in the world. Every man belongs either to the sons of light or to the sons of darkness. In this way, the spirit of light (or spirit of truth) has dominion over the sons of light. The angel of darkness not only has control of the sons of perversion, but it is also due to him that the sons of righteousness go astray because he has in his command spirits who strive to trip up the sons of light.⁹

The Qumran literature contains evidences of two contrasting notions: hard predestinarianism and the freedom of human will. The sectarians apparently never attempted a speculative solution to the conflict between rigid predestination and free will.¹⁰ To them, the grace of God is not granted to everyone, but only to those who have been predestined to belong to the "lot" of the righteous.

All of this suggests man's inability to achieve moral merit by himself. Therefore, any moral quality that man may achieve is the gift of God.¹¹ A passage in the Thanksgiving Psalms declares:¹²

8. 1QS 111, 17-18.

9. Karl Georg Kuhn suggests that the believer may belong to both groups; that is, inasmuch as he is man and sins, he is "flesh of sin" and inasmuch as he is "the elect of God," he belongs to the "eternal community." Cf. "New Light on Temptation, Sin, and Flesh in the New Testament," The Scrolls and the New Testament, Krister Stendahl, editor (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1957), p. 103.

10. Raymond E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," The Scrolls and the New Testament, p. 190.

11. J. Lict, "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll," p. 11.

12. E. T. by Millar Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, pp. 407-408. (Italics mine.) Cf. E. L. Sukenik (ed.), op. cit., Plate 38.

Who that is flesh could do aught like this,
 what thing formed of clay could do such wonders?
 For man lives in iniquity from the womb,
 and in faithless guilt to old age.
 I know that righteousness does not belong to a man
 nor to a son of man blamelessness of conduct;
 to the Most High God belong all works of righteousness.
 A man's way is not established
except by the spirit which God created for him,
to make blameless a way for the sons of man,
 that they may know all his works
 in the might of his power and the greatness of his mercy
 to all the sons of his good pleasure . . .
 Then I said, "For my transgression
 I am left outside of thy covenant."
 But when I remembered the strength of thy hand,
 together with the abundance of thy mercy,
 I rose and stood up, and my spirit became strong,
 standing firm before affliction;
 for I leaned on thy steadfast love
 and thy abundant mercy. (1QH iv. 29-33, 35-37)

Thereby, even though righteousness does not belong inherently to man, God
 can bestow the spirit upon man to effect a new creation in him.¹³ In this
 way the believer is "the elect of God" by strength of the "spirit of truth"
 which dwells in him and determines his deeds according to predestination.¹⁴
 Only through the spirit which God has formed in him can man walk justly.
 The spirit which God has fashioned in him-- 13 2X 78' 117 --
 is a new spirit created in man.¹⁵ At this point, the verb yqr emphasizes
 the idea of new creation.

As a result of this new creation, the Qumranians felt a real sense

13. George S. Glanzman ["Sectarian Psalms from the Dead Sea," Theological Studies, XIII (1952), p. 501, n. 70] would relate the idea to Psalm 51:10(12) and considers the passage very close to the Christian doctrine of sin and grace.

14. Karl Georg Kuhn, "New Light on Temptation, Sin, and Flesh in the New Testament," p. 103.

15. Erik Sjöberg, "Neuschöpfung in den Toten-Meer-Rollen," S. T., IX (1955), p. 135, n. 6.

of joy. They rejoiced because they were sure that their way of life put them in fellowship with God and His angels. This was expressed in another passage from the Thanksgiving Psalms as follows:¹⁶

I thank thee, O Lord,
because thou hast redeemed my soul from the pit;
from the Sheol of Abaddon
thou hast brought me up to an eternal height,
and I walk in an unsearchable plain.
I know that there is hope
for him whom thou hast formed [78] from the dust
for an eternal company
Thou hast purified the perverse spirit of a great sin,
to stand in his place with the army of the holy ones,
and to come together with the congregation of the sons
of heaven.
Thou hast cast for man an eternal lot
with the spirits of knowledge,
to praise thy name together in joyful song
and to recount thy wonders in the presence of all thy
works. (1QH iii. 19-23)

The "eternal company" may allude to both the earthly community and the future life of the blessed, since to the sectarians there was a close connection between the community on earth and the community in its heavenly existence.¹⁷ In the use of the term ysr here the poem of the Thanksgiving Psalms does not intend to suggest the creation of man but speaks of a new creation.¹⁸ Along with this, a purification has taken place for those

16. E. T. by Millar Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 404. (Italics mine.) Cf. E. L. Sukenik, op. cit., Plate 37.

17. George S. Glanzman, op. cit., p. 511, n. 8. In fact, 1QS xi. 6-8 refers to angelic or celestial beings with whom the sect shares its worship, so that, while still on earth, its members participate in a heavenly community. Cf. W. H. Brownlee, The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline (Supplementary Studies Nos. 10-12 of the Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research), p. 45, notes 14-16.

18. K. G. Kuhn, "Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament," Z.Th.K., XLVII (1950), p. 201, n. 7.

who "come together with the congregation." The creation "out of the dust to eternal community" appears to be a privilege of the ones entering the sect.¹⁹ Therefore, the new creation in the scrolls appears to take place by entrance into the membership of the sect.²⁰

If there is some hesitancy in accepting the idea of the new creation which takes place by the entry into the sect, this point is clearly verified in a parallel passage of the Thanksgiving Psalms. The relevant section reads as follows:²¹

Um deiner Herrlichkeit willen hast du einen Menschen
vom Frevel gereinigt,
(ihn) dir zu heiligen von allem Greuel der Unreinheit
und Schande des Abfalls,
(ihn) zu vereinigen (mit) den Söhnen der Wahrheit und
mit dem Los des Volkes deiner Heiligen,
einen Wurm der Männer zu erhöhen vom Staube zu (ewiger)
Gemeinschaft
und von verkehrtem Geist zu (deiner) Einsicht,
im Dienst vor deinem Angesicht zu stehen mit dem Heer
der Ewigkeit und den Geistern der Erkenntnis,
erneuert zu werden mit allem was sein wird und mit den
Wissenden in der Vereinigung des Jubels.
(1QH xi. 10-14)

19. For the step-by-step procedure of entering the sect, refer to J. T. Milik, Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea, trans. J. Strugnell (London: S C M Press, Ltd., 1959), pp. 101-103, (hereinafter referred to as Ten Years), and William Sanford LaSor, Amazing Dead Sea Scrolls (Chicago: Moody Press, 1956), p. 51. LaSor suggests that full status in the community is gained after two years, while Milik, using Josephus and Philo, gives the period as three years.

Concerning the problem of baptism at Qumran, J. T. Milik [Ten Years, p. 102] declares: "We are not told whether there were baptismal rites distinct from the daily ablution of the sect." Yet, H. H. Rowley [The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament (London: S. P. C. K., 1957), p. 15 f.] suggests there may be a possibility that the first ritual lustration was given a special significance; however, he openly admits that there are no statements in the texts which support this supposition. There is, therefore, not enough evidence to make any inferences concerning the relationship of baptism to the new creation of the individual in the Qumran sect.

20. K. G. Kuhn, Z.Th.K., XLVII (1950), 201.

21. Trans. by E. Sjöberg, S. T., IX (1955), 132. Cf. E. L. Sukenik (ed.), op. cit., Plate 45.

A comparison of the Hebrew text of 1QH xi. 12-13 with that of 1QH iii. 20-22 will show that they are very close parallels. Therefore, these passages reciprocally illuminate each other. The words "to unite himself with the sons of thy truth and to be in the same lot with thy holy ones" (1QH xi. 12) refer clearly to the entrance into the sect.²² Accordingly, this passage (1QH xi. 3-14) is a description of the way of salvation summarizing the ideas of the Manual of Discipline "as in a catechism."²³

Furthermore, the words in 1QH xi. 12 "to lift up this worm which is man from the dust to eternal community" should be considered a paraphrase of 1QH iii. 20 f. which reads "whom thou hast created out of the dust to eternal community." From this we see that both 1QH iii. 19-23 and xi. 10-14 relate to the entry into the Qumran sect and thereby to the change which takes place upon the initiate.²⁴ Due to the renewal mentioned in xi. 13-14, the novitiate is to become a "new man."²⁵ The main importance of these passages is that they give evidence of the new creation by the entry into the sect from the point of view of divine activity.

In relation to this aspect of the soteriology of the sect, some writers take extreme positions in both directions. On the one hand, Theodor H. Gaster²⁶ interprets the experience of the members of the entire

22. Hans Bardtke, "Considérations sur les cantiques de Qumrân," R. B., LXIII (1956), 229. Vide the same implication given by W. H. Brownlee, "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament," N.T.S., III (1956/57), 27.

23. Hans Bardtke, loc. cit.

24. E. Sjöberg, S. T., IX (1955), 133.

25. A. Dupont-Sommer, "Le Livre des Hymnes découvert près de la mer Morte (1QH)," Semitica, VII (1957), p. 79, n. 2.

26. The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1956), pp. 112-113.

community in terms of mystical illumination. The members had, according to him, achieved the "ascent" to God. In answer to this notion, Millar Burrows points out that in the Qumran literature there is no evidence of a loss of personal identity in the divine Unity.²⁷ It can be affirmed, therefore, that for Qumran there is no absorption into the Absolute as in Greek Mysticism.

On the other hand, there are writers who would exclude the use of the Thanksgiving Psalms (Hodayot) in any discussion of doctrine saying that this material represents the profound personal experiences of a leader in the sect and it cannot be studied for theological doctrines. To employ the same approach to the Old Testament Psalms and say that they cannot be used in any discussion of Old Testament doctrine reveals the weakness of this argument. In fact, Hans Bardtke²⁸ has succeeded in demonstrating a didactic purpose in the Thanksgiving Psalms. It is a valid procedure, for this reason, to make use of the Hodayot in discussing the doctrine of the Qumran sect.

Concerning the foregoing passages which refer to man's new creation, Sjöberg²⁹ points out that this renewal is marked in two ways: (1) through the gift of the spirit, and (2) through the bestowal of knowledge. This requires amplification.

27. More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls (New York: The Viking Press, 1958), p. 382.

28. Op. cit., p. 230 f. Cf. also J. Licht, "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll," pp. 2-3.

29. S. T., IX (1955), 135.

The Gift of the Spirit

In ascertaining the meaning of this "bestowal of the spirit," we are confronted with a difficult problem. Is this a bestowal of the Holy Spirit of God or is it a spirit from God? Of course, the problem is further complicated because the term "spirit" is used in many different senses in the Qumran literature.³⁰ Going directly, however, to the heart of the controversy, it is seen that David Flusser³¹ represents one point of view when he stresses the bestowal of the Holy Spirit in Qumran literature. He seeks to substantiate his emphasis by relying upon 1QS iv. 21 and iii. 6-7.³² Yet, since 1QS iv. 21 refers to the future sprinkling of the Spirit at the End,³³ there remains 1QS iii. 6-7 to be considered relating to the bestowal of the Spirit in the present life of the Qumranians. Flusser translates this passage as follows:³⁴

Unclean, unclean he will be all the days that he rejects the ordinances of God . . . But by the spirit of true counsel for the ways of man all his iniquities shall be atoned, so that he shall look at the light of life, and by the spirit of holiness which will unite him in his truth he shall be

30. Cf. Millar Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, pp. 291 f. A. R. C. Leane (ed.), A Guide to the Scrolls (London: S C M Press, Ltd., 1958), pp. 86-91.

31. "The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity," Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin, editors (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1958), pp. 246 ff.

32. Later in his discussion, Flusser [op. cit., p. 248] adds 1QH xiv. 13; however, not much weight can be placed upon this passage because the present reading is the result of considerable restoration.

33. W. D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit," The Scrolls and the New Testament, p. 176.

34. David Flusser, op. cit., p. 243. (Italics mine.)

cleansed from all his iniquities; and by the spirit of uprightness and meekness his sin will be atoned, and by the submission of his soul to all the statutes of God his flesh will be cleaned, that he may be sprinkled with water for impurity and sanctify himself with water of cleanness.

(1QS iii. 5-9)

The very words of this text which Flusser is obliged to place most weight upon are: "and by the spirit of holiness which will unite him in his truth he shall be cleansed from all his iniquities." Yet, further on in his discussion, he admits that the expression "spirit of holiness" ($\eta\psi\iota\tau\omicron\pi\ \eta\iota\eta$) is a difficult one to define. This expression in 1QS iii. 7 appears to mean, according to him, the quality of holiness granted to man, and in some way resembles the "holy thought" (or "holy purpose") of 1QS iv. 5. Flusser concludes by saying that the expression "spirit of holiness" in 1QS iii. 7 seems to be different from the Holy Spirit ($\psi\tau\iota\pi\ \eta\iota\eta$).³⁵ Because 1QS iii. 7 was Flusser's strongest passage and because he decides that this does not refer to the Holy Spirit, the best evidence substantiating the bestowal of the Holy Spirit in the present lives of the sectarians seems to be taken away.

In order to present the other side of the controversy, it is helpful to be reminded of some of the aspects of the concept of determinism in the sect. God, according to the Dead Sea Scrolls, created the spirits of light and darkness. These spirits of light and darkness which struggle in man's soul and in the universe are sometimes called angels.³⁶ Therefore, the two principal spirits are God's creatures and subject to him. He only

35. Ibid., p. 252.

36. 1QS iii. 21, 24.

allows the spirit of darkness, which he abhors, to be active until the "time of visitation." It is also clear that the two spirits or angels are powers outside of man, which not only help or hinder him but control his life in accordance with the "lot" to which each individual was apportioned at birth.³⁷ There are statements, on the other hand, which appear to demand the element of personal decision and effort,³⁸ but little room is left for it in such a passage as the Manual of Discipline iii. 13-iv. 26. Even though one may belong to the lot of the sons of light (and thereby a member of the sect), the spirits of truth and perversity continue to contend within his heart until the final Judgment.³⁹

With an understanding of the Qumran concept of determinism in the background, some comparisons between the Qumranian and Christian beliefs concerning the gift of the Spirit should be made. In contrast to Paul's thought of the Spirit as being received by the believer when he accepts the free salvation given through Christ, the Qumran sect taught that a man belongs to the sons of light "by the strength of predestination."⁴⁰ Instead of an indwelling Spirit to enable a man to overcome the power of sin, the Qumran sect thought of a struggle of the two spirits within man with the pious only attaining final salvation when, at the Last Judgment, God frees him from the spirit of perversion.⁴¹ For this reason, in the

37. K. G. Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion," Z.Th.K. XLIX (1952), 312.

38. Raymond E. Brown, op. cit., p. 190.

39. 1QS iv. 23.

40. K. G. Kuhn, "New Light on Temptation, Sin, and Flesh in the New Testament," p. 106.

41. Millar Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 121. Cf. also K. G. Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion," p. 301, n. 4.

Dead Sea scrolls there appears to be no firm assertion, as is found in Paul, about the presence of the Holy Spirit in the heart of the believer.⁴²

Since the dwelling of the "spirit" in the pious man of Qumran does not appear to be the Spirit of God in the Pauline sense, the sectarian concept can be interpreted in one of two ways. First, as K. G. Kuhn⁴³ is inclined to think, the spirit within man referred to in the scrolls is the spirit of man or the good spirit which is given by God in creation. A second solution to the problem of the spirit within man is given by F. M. Cross, Jr. He suggests:⁴⁴

In the Johannine literature the Spirit is normally God's own spirit or Christ's own spirit (cf. I John 4:13). In the Qumran Rule the Spirit of Truth has a "greater distance" from God; the hypostatized Spirit of God has become largely identified with an angelic creature, the spirit from God, and their functions combined.

42. Raymond E. Brown, op. cit., p. 198, n. 72.

43. "New Light on Temptation, Sin, and Flesh in the New Testament," p. 105, n. 34. In passages where the two spirits are spoken of as striving within man, F. M. Braun sometimes gets the impression that the spirits, rather than having reference to two definite entities, are being spoken of impersonally as ways of acting or spiritual currents. Cf. "L'arrière-fond judaïque du quatrième évangile et la Communauté de l'Alliance," R. B., LXII (1955), 13. Furthermore, O. J. F. Seitz ["Two Spirits in Man: An Essay in Biblical Exegesis," N.T.S., VI (1959), 93 f.] calls attention to the similarities between the two spirits in Qumran and the two inclinations in Rabbinic literature.

44. F. M. Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1958), p. 159. [Hereinafter referred to as The Ancient Library.] With this view George Johnston ["'Spirit' and 'Holy Spirit' in the Qumran Literature," New Testament Sidelights, ed. H. K. McArthur (Hartford, Connecticut: The Hartford Seminary Foundation Press, 1960), p. 41] appears to concur as he states the following in reference to Qumran doctrine:

And, in line with a familiar tendency of the Hebrew mind, the Spirit like the hand, the mercy, the wisdom, and the law of God might be personified but there is no real hypostasis, no clear theology of the Spirit of God.

From this, it is to be understood that the Johannine conception of the Spirit, "who proceeds from the Father" (John 15:26), and will be sent to guide the disciples "into all the truth" (16:13), does not seem to correspond closely to the Qumran conception of the spirit who is one of two struggling for the mastery of mankind. There appears to be a bestowal of the spirit of truth (the spirit from God) upon the members of the community, but the true gift of the Holy Spirit (the Spirit of God) is only a future anticipation in Qumran doctrine.⁴⁵

The Bestowal of Knowledge

Besides the bestowal of the spirit from God, another mark of the new creation is the bestowal of knowledge. The author of the Thanksgiving Psalms aptly expressed the idea when he said, "thou hast given me knowledge of thy wondrous mysteries" (1QH iv. 27-28). And it is by the spirit which God created for man that he may know all His works.⁴⁶ At another point, the Hodayot presents the bestowal of knowledge in a descriptive manner:⁴⁷

Yea I am only dust and ashes:
 what could I meditate, unless Thou didst will it,
 and what thought could I have without Thy good pleasure?
 How could I display my powers, if Thou didst not keep me alive,
 and how could I be intelligent if Thou didst not form my thoughts?
 (1QH x, 5-7).

Thus, the concept of divinely granted knowledge has a definite place in Qumran literature.

⁴⁵. Geoffrey Graystone, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Originality of Christ (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1956), p. 73. Millar Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 67.

⁴⁶. 1QH iv, 31-32.

⁴⁷. E. T. by A. Dupont-Sommer, The Dead Sea Scrolls (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), p. 77. Cf. also 1QS xi, 3; iv, 2.

The community, according to the scrolls, had been given a special revelation⁴⁸ into the correct understanding of the Law and the Prophets.

This revelation had become the teaching of the sect, and it is the acceptance of and obedience to this revealed teaching which sanctifies the members of the community.⁴⁹ The hearts of the elect are illumined with the "life-giving wisdom" and "eternal knowledge."⁵⁰

Nevertheless, the sectarians do not appear to be yearning for a knowledge which itself constitutes "life eternal," because to them the true interpretation of the Law is the sum of all wisdom and knowledge.⁵¹ Another reason the sectarians could not have believed knowledge to result in deification is the fact that they anticipated a fullness of knowledge at the End.⁵² The correct explanation is that the sons of light are granted heavenly wisdom and this wisdom or knowledge has to do with God's works and ways and judgments.

From the foregoing, we conclude that the ones who receive the new creation are marked as those who were granted the bestowal of the spirit

48. Damascus Document iii, 13-14 (5:1-2).

49. 1QS, i, 7-9. Cf. Raymond E. Brown, op. cit., p. 193. The acceptance of this teaching is also considered to imply that the sectarians must do good works in conformity with this instruction.

50. 1QS, ii, 3-4. Cf. W. H. Brownlee, The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline, pp. 8 and 10. W. S. LaSor, op. cit., p. 147.

51. W. D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit," p. 182, n. 86.

52. 1QS iv, 22. Actually, the sect has little in common with the Hellenistic gnosis. Cf. W. D. Davies, "'Knowledge' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew 11:25-30," H.T.R., XLVI (1953), pp. 131 f. and 139, n. 77.

of truth and the gift of knowledge.

USAGE OF THE BIRTH METAPHOR

In addition to passages which suggest the idea of the new creation of the believer, there are two places in the Dead Sea texts where the metaphor of birth is employed which are relevant to this study. One of these passages may possibly refer to the spiritual rebirth of the members of the sect, while the other appears to say that God "begets" the Messiah. Because the figure of being begotten spiritually is so important in Johannine literature, the use of this metaphor in the scrolls may be noteworthy as a possible background influence upon the New Testament metaphor.

The first metaphor is found in column III of the Thanksgiving Psalms.⁵³ In the poem there is a description of the sufferings of a woman who brings forth "a male child." This passage of the Hodayot, unfortunately, has been given widely divergent interpretations.⁵⁴

The birth pangs may be a figure for the afflictions of the author of the Thanksgiving Psalms, who in turn may be identified with the community.⁵⁵ Yet, the poem is commonly believed to refer to the birth of

53. 1QH iii, 3-18. E. L. Sukenik, op. cit., Plate 37. Cf. Revelation 12:1-6.

54. Cf. Millar Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, pp. 316-321 for a summary.

55. Jean Daniélou, The Dead Sea Scrolls and Primitive Christianity (Baltimore, Maryland: Helicon Press, Inc., 1958), p. 78.

the Messiah.⁵⁶ Both Cross and Burrows, on the other hand, are skeptical of the Messianic interpretation.⁵⁷ A more recent interpretation has been put forth by O. Betz,⁵⁸ who maintains that the poem describes the spiritual birth of the Messianic community through the author of the Hodayot. In this way, the members of the community are actually God's children, but it is through the leader that they are brought to birth.

It is not in keeping with the purpose of this section to become unduly involved in a debate concerning the different views relating to this poem. Suffice it to say that an interpretation which can be finally agreed upon has not yet firmly established itself. However, it is interesting for our purpose to notice that this passage from the Dead Sea literature may refer either to a "begetting" of the Messiah from the Qumran community or to the spiritual rebirth of the members through the author of the Thanksgiving Psalms, who is the means by which the power of God works among men.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the evidence for these two interpretations does not appear to be strong enough to warrant a place greater than only that of a possible suggestion.

56. J. V. Chamberlain, "Another Qumran Thanksgiving Psalm," The Journal of Near Eastern Studies, XIV (1955), 33. W. H. Brownlee, N.T.S., III (1956-57), 23.

57. Millar Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 320. F. M. Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library, p. 167, n. 52. Also, S. Mowinckel, "Some Remarks on Hodayot 39:5-20," J.B.L., LXXV (1956), 276.

58. "Die Geburt der Gemeinde durch den Lehrer," N.T.S., III (1956/57), 320 ff.

59. O. Betz, "Das Volk seiner Kraft: zur Auslegung der Qumran-hodajah iii, 1-18," N.T.S., V (1958/59), 73-75.

Another text which makes use of the metaphor of birth is found in the so-called Rule of the Congregation (1QSa). The actual passage in question may be translated: "When God begets the Messiah: with them shall come the priest at the head of the whole congregation of Israel."⁶⁰ It must be immediately admitted, however, that there are several words missing in the damaged text. This gives rise to various suggested emendations and interpretations.⁶¹

Although the crucial term suggesting a birth metaphor is illegible in the photographic reproduction of the text, D. Barthelemy and F. M. Cross, Jr., affirm that the manuscript itself shows this word to be a verb meaning "begets" (ywlyd).⁶² Yet, J. T. Milik emends the text to read "sends" (ywlyk).⁶³ If we have ywlyd (or ywlyk) followed by a subject which must fit in a space of two letters, the restoration with the word "God" ('l) seems most plausible. This makes the clause mean "when God begets (or sends) the Messiah." If the reading "begets" is correct,⁶⁴ this passage

60. 1QSa ii. 11 f. E. T. by Millar Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 395. Cf. D. Barthelemy and J. T. Milik, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I: Qumran Cave I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), Plate xxiv and pp. 108 ff.

61. A summary of the problem is found in Millar Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, pp. 300-304.

62. D. Barthelemy and J. T. Milik, op. cit., p. 117. F. M. Cross, Jr., "Qumran Cave I," J.B.L., LXXV (1956), p. 124, n. 8.

63. D. Barthelemy and J. T. Milik, op. cit., p. 117. Likewise F. M. Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library, p. 64.

64. As is maintained by Robert Gordis, "The 'begotten' Messiah in the Qumran scrolls," Vetus Testamentum, VII (1957), 192. W. D. Davies, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins," Religion in Life, XXVI (Spring, 1957), 261. Against Y. Yadin, "A Crucial Passage in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 1QSa ii. 11-17," J.B.L., LXXVIII (1959), 240 f.

may be an allusion to Psalm 2:7, where God says to the newly crowned king or to the Messiah "You are my son, today I have begotten you."⁶⁵ This passage in the Rule of the Congregation, therefore, may be an example to show the Qumranians were willing to speak of God as "begetting"; whereas, such a statement was carefully avoided in the Rabbinic literature.⁶⁶ The fact that a sect of hyper-orthodox Jews were willing to speak of God as "begetting" the Messiah is significant. However, the text and its suggested meaning concerning the divine origin of the Messiah are too uncertain to allow any well-grounded conclusions.

CONCLUSION

According to the Qumran literature, the initiate will receive a new creation upon entrance into the sect. The idea of the new creation is seen in the Thanksgiving Psalms. In column IV of this document, God is described as fashioning a new spirit in man to effect a new creation in him. Column III also makes use of the term ysr to speak of the new creation of those who enter the sect. The third passage which carries the idea of the new creation is found in column XI. At this point, the initiate is said to be "renewed" to become a new man upon his entrance into the Qumran Community. This new creation brings about the gift of the spirit of truth and the bestowal of knowledge.

In addition to the idea of the new creation, two birth metaphors in the Dead Sea texts are significant even though they are given various

65. Cf. F. M. Cross, Jr., "Qumran Cave I," p. 124.

66. Vide supra in the section entitled "Rabbinic Judaism," Chapter II.

interpretations. The birth figure in the Thanksgiving Psalms 111, 3-18 probably refers either to the begetting of the Messiah from the Qumran community, or to the spiritual rebirth of the members of the community through the author of the Hodayot who acts as the means through which the power of God works among men. Of course, if the latter interpretation were to become the accepted explanation, the passage would be especially important in the development of the idea of regeneration in the Jewish environment. Another birth metaphor is contained in the so-called Rule of the Congregation 11, 11-12. According to the most plausible reconstruction, this passage is translated "when God begets the Messiah." If this interpretation is correct, it is a rare Jewish usage of God as the subject of the verb "begetting," and it may be an allusion to Psalm 2:7.

From these two passages in pre-Christian texts, it is seen that a Jewish sect may have been willing to speak of God as the subject of the begetting of the Messiah and of the power of God working through the author of the Hodayot to give a spiritual rebirth to members of the sect. If these explanations are correct, they have weighty implications concerning the pre-Christian Jewish usage of the terminology of spiritual begetting.

In the passages of the Qumran literature which refer to the new creation of man, we find a similar point of view in some aspects to that of the New Testament. At Qumran salvation is a gift of God to the elect, achieved by His new creation⁶⁷ of those who become members of the community. The Qumranians thought it was possible for a man to pass out of darkness into light. It is God's wishpat that saves the sinner. Because of their profound sense of the righteousness of God, they believed a man could be

67. F. M. Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library, p. 68.

given righteousness he never could attain for himself.⁶⁸ However, even in this new creation, the change of man's nature is not considered to be in the ontological but in the moral realm.⁶⁹ Moreover, as nearly as can be judged, there does not appear to be a gift of the Holy Spirit as a present possession of the believer until the time of visitation when God frees man from the spirit of perversion within him. Therefore, the ultimate new creation of the individual lies in the future.

Granting that there are differences in the Qumranian and New Testament soteriology, it is significant that the Qumran literature may represent a stratum of Jewish thought of the first century A. D. from which the New Testament writers were indirectly and partially influenced in their ideas of new creation and regeneration. To W. F. Albright,⁷⁰ the Dead Sea scrolls demonstrate that John, the Synoptics, Paul and other New Testament books draw from a common reservoir of terminology and ideas which were well known to the Qumran sect and presumably familiar also to other Jewish sects of the period. Since there are three passages in the Thanksgiving Psalms which speak of man's new creation, these thoughts in the reservoir of Palestinian Jewish thinking of the first century may have been an indirect influence upon Paul's concept of the new creation of man.

Furthermore, the willingness of the sect to make use of the metaphor of birth--possibly relating to the spiritual birth of the initiates into the sect and at another place to God's begetting the Messiah--shows that

69. S. E. Johnson, "Paul and the Manual of Discipline," H.T.R., XLVIII (1955), 161.

70. "Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of St. John," p. 169.

the way was paved for the future use of the metaphor among other Jewish sectarian movements in Palestine. Previously, it has been thought that a Palestinian Jew would not employ the birth metaphor relating to God granting spiritual birth to the individual, so that the only place where this metaphor could receive its origin was in the Hellenistic milieu. However, the evidence of the Dead Sea scrolls appears to show that this principle can no longer be rigidly upheld. Since the metaphor of birth was probably in use during the first century in Jewish sectarianism of Palestine, it is possible that the idea of spiritual birth in the New Testament may have been derived from a Palestinian Jewish background.

Even with this possible background, these rudimentary expressions were transformed in meaning when they were used by the New Testament writers. For Paul the new creation comes by faith and not by works.⁷¹ Although the Habakkuk Commentary (viii.2) speaks of those who will be saved from the judgment because of "their labor and their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness," this faith in the Teacher only means confidence in his teaching. It does not mean, as for Paul, faith in an act of atonement accomplished by the death of Christ.⁷² Therefore, it is basically "the doers of the law in the house of Judah" who are saved according to the Dead Sea scrolls.

In the Johannine literature, what makes a man become one who is born of God is receiving Christ and believing in his name.⁷³ Here we are at a

71. Ephesians 2:5; Colossians 2:12 f.

72. Oskar Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity," J.B.L., LXXIV (1955), 223.

73. John 1:12-13, 18; I John 5:1.

distance from Qumran. In contrast to Johannine thought, the stress in the Qumran texts is not on personal decision but on rigid predestination.

Even with the similarities on the surface, there is a wide gulf between the Qumran doctrine and the New Testament teaching. The underlying feature of these differences can only be adequately explained by the person and work of Jesus Christ Himself. He came to save sinners, not merely the elect. His work makes possible a "rebirth" in which a "new creature" is "born from above." Yet, it is possible that some of the ideas of the Qumran texts relating to new creation and regeneration may have fertilized the soil from which Christianity was to spring.

V. THE APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

The apocalyptic literature begins in the Old Testament with the Book of Daniel and blossoms forth into full power in the pseudepigraphic literature such as the Book of Enoch, IV Ezra, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. These are found in R. H. Charles's monumental Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Volume II. The idea of the new creation in apocalyptic literature is found in its eschatological meaning. This is to be expected when it is understood that the eschatological aspect of the new creation idea is probably its oldest form in Jewish thought. The hope of the renewal of the world is chiefly based on Isaiah 65:17 and 66:22.¹ Although the expression "the new creation" is seldom found in connection with the eschatological new creation in pseudepigraphic literature,² the idea is present even when the exact expression is not employed. The concept of the new creation is used in apocalyptic literature to refer to the future renewal of man and of the world.

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL NEW CREATION OF MAN

The apocalyptic literature speaks of a renewal of men at the End. The sequence of events at the end of the age is generally said to be that sinners will be punished, Satan will lose his power, and the righteous men will live in a new age having their hearts cleansed and renewed. The

1. Emil Schürer, A History of the Jewish People, Div. II, Vol. II, p. 177.

2. It appears to be used only twice: I Enoch 72:1 and the Book of Jubilees 4:26.

details of this period are variously described, but the important thought which is found in the midst of these descriptions is that there will be a transformation of the inward part of man by the action of God Himself.³

Passages which allude to the new creation of man in apocalyptic literature are variously expressed. There is the assertion that God shall pour out His Spirit upon lost men, and they shall be changed to become His sons and walk in His commandments.⁴ In place of the present evil heart, a heart of bliss shall be given them in Paradise which understands the good and serves God alone.⁵ The heart of the individual shall be changed and transformed to a new spirit.⁶ The evil instinct shall be extinguished.⁷ These thoughts echo the hope which stands written in Ezekiel 36:26 f.: "I will take out of your flesh the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you . . ."⁸

The Book of Jubilees speaks of the eschatological renewal of men's hearts in terms of a new creation. In Jubilees 1:19 f., Moses prays: "O Lord my God, do not forsake Thy people . . . create in them a clean heart and a holy spirit, and let them not be ensnared in their sins from

3. Erik Sjöberg, S. T., IV, 70.

4. The Testament of Judah 24:3; The Testament of Levi 18:11; The Book of Jubilees 1:23.

5. Apocalypse of Moses 13:5 (The Greek form of the Life of Adam and Eve.)

6. IV Ezra 6:26.

7. IV Ezra 8:53; 6:27.

8. Vide Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., III, 240. And, according to the Testament of Levi 4, there will be an outpouring of the Spirit in the future.

henceforth until eternity."⁹ To this prayer, the Lord replies that the Israelites are stiffnecked and not obedient, but at the End they shall return to the Lord and He declares: "I will circumcise the foreskin of their heart . . . and I will create in them a holy spirit, and I will cleanse them so that they shall not turn away from Me from that day unto eternity."¹⁰ The renewal of individual hearts is sometimes spoken of as the condition of salvation; whereas, it also emerges as a gift of God and consequently a part of salvation.¹¹

Some passages take for granted a meaning which includes partly the regeneration of the world and partly the eschatological regeneration of individual hearts.¹² Thus, the Jewish eschatology in this matter was

9. E. T. in R. H. Charles (ed.), The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1913), II, 12. Hereinafter referred to as Ap. and Ps. (Italics mine.) Cf. Jubilees 1:16 (where it is affirmed that God will change them to a "plant of uprightness") and The Psalm of Solomon 18:5.

10. Jubilees 1:23 (Italics mine.) E. T. by R. H. Charles, Ap. and Ps., II, 12. The renewal of creation is set forth in Jubilees 5:12 where it is stated that God will make a new and righteous nature which shall not sin forever. R. H. Charles [Ap. and Ps., II, 20 and The Book of Jubilees (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), p. 10] believes that this passage refers, not to the period of the Flood, but to the new creation which is still in the future. Yet, it is possible that the conception of the era after the Flood and that of the future new creation both flow together here. Vide Paul Volz, Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde (zweite Auflage; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1934), p. 30.

11. Paul Volz, op. cit., p. 392.

12. In addition, there are passages (for example, II Baruch 51:3-12 and I Enoch 90:38; 108:11) which describe a transformation of the righteous after the final judgment. However, this transformation seems to refer mainly to a change in the bodies of the righteous rather than to a renewal of individual hearts. Cf. R. H. Charles, A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1899), pp. 281 f. and H. H. Rowley, The Relevance of the Apocalyptic (revised edition; New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1946), p. 60.

somewhat fluid in nature. In fact, the full meaning of the eschatological renewal of the individual is seen only in connection with the regeneration of the world.

THE NEW CREATION OF THE WORLD

The idea of the new creation of the world is found in the canonical Book of Daniel as well as in the apocalypses of the Pseudepigrapha.

The Book of Daniel

The new age of the world in the future is set forth in the Old Testament apocalypse of Daniel. The seventh chapter of Daniel points out that at the close of "a time, two times, and half a time" when the fourth kingdom shall be destroyed, the judgment will take place and the kingdom of the saints will be established (7:9-10, 13-14, 25-27). Since the beings symbolized in the figure of "a son of man" are, according to the interpretation of the angel (7:22), the "saints of the Most High," it appears that in the eternal Kingdom those of the faithful remnant of Israel are to be transformed into heavenly or supernatural beings.¹³ There, the phrase "son of man"

13. Daniel 12:3. R. H. Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), p. 187. Notice that Arthur Jeffery ["The Book of Daniel" (Exegesis Commentary), I. B., VI, 461] suggests that the figure of "one like a son of man" represents both the kingdom of the saints and the king who inaugurates that kingdom, the messianic king. However, Th. C. Vriezen (An Outline of Old Testament Theology, p. 367) appears to give a more careful answer. He states that a singular figure may possibly be intended by the expression "son of man" in Daniel, but this is by no means certain. For a summary of the endless discussions which have gathered round this figure, see H. H. Rowley, The Relevance of the Apocalyptic, pp. 28 ff. and The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament (London: Lutterworth Press, 1952), pp. 61 ff. and 76, n. 3. William Manson, Jesus the Messiah (1946), pp. 246 f., 238-40, and 254 f. A. J. B. Higgins, "Son of Man--Forschung since 'The Teaching of Jesus,'" New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson (Manchester: The University Press, 1959),

is a figure for the saints after they are invested with power.¹⁴ The universal kingdom which God shall set up is to be the possession of the saints forever (2:44 f.; 7:18,27). There will be an enthroning of the true Israel over the heathen kingdoms analogous to the establishment of the dominion of Adam over the beasts and over all the earth at creation (7:13-14). Thereby, the writer of Daniel makes use of the details of the creation scene in order to shape that of the new creation.¹⁵

Again in chapter twelve, the Book of Daniel gives a description of the last times which result in the destruction of the great heathen powers. Then, there shall be a resurrection of those Israelites of outstanding faithfulness and those of exceptional wickedness. This new kingdom is given by God to the righteous; whereby, the establishment of God's rule is effected. The righteous of Israel will share in an age of everlasting blessedness on the present earth.¹⁶ Moreover, Professor James A.

pp. 119 ff. Cf. The use of the phrase "son of man" in I Enoch 37-71. Oscar Cullmann [The Christology of the New Testament, trans. S. C. Guthrie and C. A. M. Hall (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), p. 154] holds that the "son of man" in Daniel is individual and collective.

14. H. H. Rowley, The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament, p. 62, n. 2.

15. Austin Farrer, A Study in St. Mark, pp. 259 f.

16. R. H. Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 325, and H. H. Rowley, The Relevance of the Apocalyptic, p. 30, n. 1. Yet, E. W. Heaton [The Book of Daniel (Torch Bible Commentaries; London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1956), p. 248] differs slightly from this view by saying the New Age in chapter twelve could belong to the world after its renewal, but the unique qualities of the age cause its geographical location to be undecided. On the other hand, Heaton (p. 80) considers the new kingdom in chapter seven, which the true Israel shall possess, to take place in this world.

Montgomery asserts: "There is [in Daniel 12:3] the incipient idea of the transcendent conditions of the blest, 'a new heaven and a new earth'."¹⁷ Therefore, this new and unending kingdom, which is hewn out by God (2:45), is the final consummation which comes when the last earthly empire is overthrown. The individual Israelites who have been faithful were to be resurrected to a higher communion with God, and, at the same time, their communion with the righteous community was restored.¹⁸ Thereby, there is a synthesis of the eschatologies of the individual and of the nation. To the author of Daniel, the resurrection of the righteous was one aspect of the End and it has no meaning apart from the inauguration of the New Age. After the old order has been judged, the New Age will begin.

Daniel's vision of the final redemption gives a presentation of the "new creation," outlined after the ancient story of creation. The subjection of the kingdoms of the world to the "son of man" represented for this writer nothing less than a new creation. The true Israel in the new creation symbolized the "new humanity," crowned with glory and honor, which would rule the world as it was meant to be ruled from the beginning.¹⁹ From this discussion, it is evident that the vision of the New Age in Daniel took into consideration both the individual and the righteous community on the new earth which Yahweh will create.

17. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel (I.C.C.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), p. 472. Vide E. W. Heaton, op. cit., p. 88.

18. Daniel 12:2. R. H. Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 326. W. J. Ferrar, From Daniel to St. John the Divine (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930), p. 27.

19. E. W. Heaton, op. cit., pp. 94, 101, 173, 186.

The Apocalypses of the Pseudepigrapha

Before taking up specific examples of the idea of the new creation of the world in the apocalypses of the Pseudepigrapha, a few general remarks applicable to cosmic renewal in these writings appear to be in order. The renewal of the cosmos is said to take place in one of two ways: either this present world shall be annihilated and a new one shall arise in its place, or this present world shall be radically changed seemingly without the necessity of the destruction of the world. Both points of view are found and the writers do not appear to see any need of harmonizing the two approaches.²⁰ The important aspect in both examples is that the order of the world in this period shall be replaced by an entirely new order. It is by the creative action of God that this renewal of the world takes place. In both points of view--the annihilation of the present world to make way for the new creation and the transformation of the present world into the new world--the change is brought about through an act of God corresponding to that of the first creation.²¹

The regeneration of the world is spoken of in II Baruch and IV Ezra. God shall renew His creation in a time to come.²² In other words,

20. Notice, for example, that II Baruch 4:1 seems to imply that the present world will be transformed rather than be destroyed to bring about the new creation. On the other hand, II Baruch 31:5 alludes to the destruction of the world in order that a completely new world may be created. Cf. Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., III, 840. R. H. Charles, Religious Development between the Old and the New Testaments, p. 54. T. Francis Glisson, His Appearing and His Kingdom (London: The Epworth Press, 1953), pp. 181 ff.

21. Erik Sjöberg, S. T., IV, 72. In fact, the new creation of the world appears to be considered at times as only a final repetition of the first creation. Cf. Paul Volz, op. cit., p. 361.

22. II Baruch 32:6; 57:2. In addition, the myth in the Testament of Levi 18:10-12 describes the renewal of the whole world. In one passage of the

after the final judgment, there will be a new creation.²³ The foundation of the earth shall tremble because they know that they must go through a transformation at the End.²⁴ The Mighty One shall shake the whole creation and change those things which have been in the world.²⁵ With the establishment of the new creation, the righteous will enter on their great reward. They will be transfigured so their faces will "shine as the Sun," and they will be bright as the stars and beyond them.²⁶ This "new world" which is to come shall be a world which does not die.²⁷ In II Baruch, there is the doctrine of the transformation of the world, and the new creation of man is connected with it.²⁸ Moreover, while the features of this present world are sin, evil and putrefaction, those of the world to come are life and bliss.²⁹ Thus, instead of sin, the good rules in the

Sibylline Oracles (IV, 183 ff.), the new creation is combined with the destruction of the world. Whereas, the fifth Sibylline (V, 273) speaks of the transformation of the cosmos with an annihilation of the fruits of the earth except in the holy land but without a complete destruction of the world. Cf. Paul Volz, op. cit., pp. 338-340. Then, another passage (V, 212) describes a conflagration and a new creation which shall come forth.

23. IV Ezra 7:75: cf. also 7:50, 112 f.

24. IV Ezra 6:16.

25. II Baruch 32:1; 45:3.

26. IV Ezra 7:97, 125. Thus, they will enjoy immortality.

27. II Baruch 44:12; 51:3; cf. 74:2. Strack and Billerbeck [op. cit., III, 840 f.] neatly divide those passages which, according to them, refer only to the transformation of the present world, without implying a necessary destruction of the world, from other passages which speak of the annihilation of this world and the new creation. Yet, due to the fluid nature of this teaching in apocalyptic literature such a neat division does not hold throughout. Cf. Paul Volz, op. cit., p. 338.

28. II Baruch 49:3. Cf. Paul Volz, op. cit., p. 338.

29. Paul Volz, op. cit., pp. 65 f.

new world.

In IV Ezra vii, the new age is said to enter after the Messiah, upon the completion of a four-hundred year reign, has died and all men with him.³⁰

Then shall the world be turned into the primaeval silence seven days, like as at the first beginnings; so that no man is left. And it shall be after seven days that the Age which is not yet awake shall be roused, and that which is corruptible shall perish.

Therefore, with the appearance of the new order, the present corruptible world vanishes. The age which shall be roused is the future world. From this, it is understood that the final renewal means a new creation.³¹

In the section of I Enoch known as the Apocalypse of Weeks, the history of the world is divided into ten periods or weeks. During the ninth week, there would be the destruction of all the works of the godless. The tenth week should witness the final judgment on the angels, the creation of a new heaven, and the inauguration of an eternity of sinless joy for the righteous.³² This "new heaven" shall be an entirely new-created heaven. Here the idea of the new creation is set forth even though the

30. IV Ezra 7:30-31. E. T. by G. H. Box in R. H. Charles, Ap. and Ps., II, p. 582. Although IV Ezra 7 portrays the Messianic kingdom as temporary and terminating with the present age, the passage also clearly teaches the appearance of the new creation in the new age after the conclusion of the Messianic period. Emil Schürer, A History of the Jewish People, Div. II, Vol. II, p. 178. N. E. Dahl, "Christ, Creation and the Church," The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, p. 425, n. 3.

31. Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., III, 842.

32. I Enoch 91:14-17.

exact expression is not employed.³³

A similar point of view is found in the section known as the Similitudes of Enoch. At this point, the coming kingdom is to be established, not in the present earth, but in a new heaven and a new earth. The relevant passage found in I Enoch 45:4-5 declares that a transformation of the hitherto existing will take place without a preceding dissolution of the world. God will "transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light," and "will transform the earth and make it a blessing" and allow His elect to dwell on it forever. Thus the writer combines in one blessed future the separate hopes of the individual and the nation.³⁴ From the emphatic "I will transform" repeated twice, it is seen that the renewal spoken of is brought about by the creative act of God. And in the future age, the new life is characterized by communion with God.³⁵

Even more significant is the fact that the actual expression the "new creation" is found in I Enoch and the Book of Jubilees. In the treatise of I Enoch concerning astronomy (chs. 72-82), the author upholds the accuracy of the sun and stars as dividers of time. He further declares

33. R. H. Charles, Ap. and Ps., II, p. 237 notes. Paul Volz [op. cit., p. 339] points out that only a new heaven and not a new earth is mentioned in this passage, but this does not detract from our purpose to cite the implied idea of the new creation. Cf. Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., III, 841 f., and N. E. Dahl, loc. cit.

Another passage (II Enoch 33:1 f.) appears to suggest that the new age will be introduced as a new creation, but the words are somewhat obscure.

34. R. H. Charles, A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life, p. 213. Cf. I Enoch 50:1.

35. I Enoch 45:4; 62:14. Cf. Wilhelm Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums im sp thellenistischen Zeitalter, p. 282.

that this order will not change "till the new creation is accomplished which dureth till eternity."³⁶ Therefore, the present order of the sun and stars will not change until the new creation is created. And the renovated creation brings the fully new into that which is called creation. It shall be a new, eternally continuing creation.³⁷

The other passage which makes use of the expression the "new creation" is seen in the Book of Jubilees. There Zion's Mount is spoken of as follows:³⁸

Mount Zion will be sanctified in the new creation for a sanctification of the earth; through it will the earth be sanctified from all (its) guilt and its uncleanness throughout the generations of the world.

The renewal of the heavens and the earth, according to Jubilees, is to be gradual rather than instantaneous and catastrophic, and its progress is to be conditioned ethically by the conduct of Israel.³⁹ In Jubilees 4:26

36. I Enoch 72:11 (Italics mine.)

37. Paul Volz, Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde, p. 338.

38. Jubilees 4:26. E. T. by R. H. Charles, Ap. and Ps., II, 19. Furthermore, R. H. Charles [Religious Development between the Old and the New Testament, p. 54] affirms that Jubilees 4:26 and 13:26-28 portrays the renewal of the world as including the spiritual transformation of man.

39. R. H. Charles, The Book of Jubilees, p. 9. The designation the "new creation" also appears in another passage of Jubilees (1:29) but R. H. Charles (The Book of Jubilees, p. 9) regards the term "new" as an Ethiopic interpolation. The corrected reading of Jubilees 1:29 is as follows: "From the day of the creation, till the heavens and the earth shall be renewed." On the other hand, Wilhelm Bousset [op. cit., p. 281] translates the verse using the expression "the new creation." Whether the term "new" is an interpolation or not, the later half of the sentence speaks of the renewal of creation at the End. Likewise, N. E. Dahl, op. cit., p. 425, n. 3. See also Jubilees 19:25. In connection with these three passages (Jubilees 1:29; 4:26; 19:25), it should be observed that there is an element of Jewish particularism here in the idea of world renewal, because the salvation of the earth in the new creation is described as going out from the sanctified Zion. Cf. Paul Volz, op. cit., p. 30. Furthermore, Paul Volz [op. cit.,

the designation "the new creation" is used in a clearer manner as a fixed term than its usage in I Enoch 72:1.⁴⁰ Therefore, by the end of the second century B. C., that is, around 100 B. C., both the conception of the eschatological new creation and the usage of the expression "the new creation" with an eschatological content were known in apocalyptic literature.⁴¹

CONCLUSION

From a study of the concept of the new creation in the Jewish apocalyptic literature, the background of the New Testament idea can be more fully appreciated.

In the first place, the apocalyptic literature of the Pseudepigrapha contains the idea of the new creation of man. It is said that the righteous men will live in a new age having their hearts cleansed and renewed. There will be a transformation of the inward part of man by the action of God Himself. And this eschatological renewal of men's hearts is spoken of in terms of a new creation.

p. 339] cites the Apocalypse of Abraham (ch. 17) as an example where the new creation is prophesied after the death of the world. However, G. H. Box [The Apocalypse of Abraham (London: S. P. C. K., 1919), p. 60] considers this part of the chapter an interpolation.

40. Strack and Billerbeck [op. cit., III, 840 f.] suggest that the meaning of the expression "the new creation" differs to some extent in the Book of Jubilees from that of I Enoch. For the Book of Jubilees, the new creation takes place after the annihilation of life without the complete destruction of the world itself; and, consequently, the renewal means the transformation of the old world into new life. On the other hand, the author of I Enoch thought of a full annihilation of the world after which there would be a renewal which meant the complete "new creation" to make a new heaven and a new earth. Yet, in both cases, there is the thought that it is God's act of creation which makes everything become new at the End.

41. H. H. Rowley, The Relevance of the Apocalyptic, pp. 77 ff. and 84 ff. E. Sjöberg, S. T., IV, 74.

Yet, the difference between the apocalyptic literature and the New Testament is that the latter taught a new creation of man in the present life with an anticipation of a complete new creation in the age to come; whereas, the apocalyptic writers appear to assign the renewal of man exclusively to the new age. Another distinction is seen in the fact that the New Testament does not hesitate to use a metaphor of birth in referring to the ethical renewal of man, while the apocalyptic writers do not appear to represent the renewal of man at the End with the exact terminology of rebirth.⁴²

After looking at the idea of man's new creation in the apocalyptic literature, it is not too difficult to see how this idea of the apocalyptic writers could have influenced the primitive Christian teaching. In the New Testament, the early Christians were trying to express what had been wrought within them by the power of the Risen Christ. They expressed themselves by saying that they had been "renewed" and had become a "new creation." Is it not easily within the realm of possibility that these Jewish Christians might have had the apocalyptic idea of the new creation of man in the background of their thinking? This appears to be even more readily possible since some of the apocalyptic passages concerning the new creation of individual hearts appear to have thrown off the yoke of Jewish particularism and have a wider view to include mankind in general. Of course, the early Christian writers thought of the new age as partially beginning with the coming of Christ and they believed in man's new creation in the present life. Thus, the idea of the new creation of man in

⁴². E. Sjöberg, S. T., IV, 75. Notice the Jewish apocalyptic hope relating to the individual found in John 11:24.

apocalyptic literature may well have been a part of the background of the New Testament concept.

Second, there are important materials in the apocalyptic literature concerning the renewal of the world. The old Jewish picture of the future age centered mainly around national hopes. And there are some passages (such as Daniel 7, IV Ezra 10-13, II Baruch 36-40, The Sibylline Oracles III and IV) which still hold to the national particularism. Yet, in the other passages of this study, there is evidence of a new enlarged ^sexchatology which, instead of having a national point of view, occupied itself with the world, mankind, and the individual.⁴³

Even the ideas in the Book of Daniel appear to be part of the background which gave rise to a broader outlook when these concepts were taken up and modified to apply to the Christian point of view. The "son of man" in Daniel is the true Israel which in the eternal kingdom is raised up to become the "new humanity." Just as the Stone was cut by God "without hands" (Daniel 2:44 f.) so the new Israel, the new divine society, was created by God Himself. While in Daniel, the "son of man" symbolizes the true Israel, the term used in the Gospel of John refers not only to the title of Jesus, but to the significance of the person of Christ in "the sense of one who incorporates in Himself the people of God, or humanity in its ideal aspect."⁴⁴ In the latter usage, the phrase means the "new humanity," reborn in Christ. In the Pauline literature, Christ is thought of as the second Adam, who recreates in His own Body the true humanity.

43. Paul Volz, Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde, pp. 30 and 63.

44. C. H. Dodd, I.F.G., p. 248.

Thus, the Christian dispensation is the beginning of the New Creation, which would partially manifest some qualities of the Age to Come.

In summary, the Book of Daniel expresses God's redemptive activity in terms of a new creation, of a new divine society, and of true humanity. Therefore, this thought pattern is restated in the New Testament with specific Christian applications.

Turning to the conception of the renewal of the world in the apocalypses of the Pseudepigrapha, one grasps more fully the possible background of the statement recorded in Matthew:⁴⁵

Truly, I say to you, in the new world [palingenesia], when the Son of man shall sit on his glorious throne, you who have followed me will also sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

Of course, Matthew's record at this point makes use of the striking Greek term palingenesia which the apocalyptic sources do not employ, but the latter sources do give a similar idea of the new creation of the world at the End. In their descriptions of the renewal of the world, both the New Testament and the apocalyptic writings thought of a new era that is really new, a new creation. The new creation of the world shall be brought about by the creative action of God. According to apocalyptic sources, the cosmic renewal will take place either by the annihilation of the present world with a new one arising in its place or by the radical transformation of the present world.

Even the actual expression the "new creation" is found in I Enoch and the Book of Jubilees. These passages speak of the new creation of the

⁴⁵. 19:28. The Christian hope for a new heaven and a new earth after the judgment is also found in II Peter 3:13 and Revelation 21:1, 5.

world which shall be a new, eternally continuing creation. With the establishment of the new world, the righteous will be transformed. Therefore, the apocalyptic literature connects the new creation of man with the renewal of the world.

Although the apocalyptic sources do not speak of cosmic or individual renewal exactly as a regeneration, these sources do speak of them as a new creation and a transformation. For this reason, the eschatological renewal of man in the apocalyptic literature may well have had a part in the origin of the New Testament idea of new creation of the individual in this age. And, what is even more certain, the expectation of the new creation of the world probably passed from the Jewish apocalyptic into Christianity.⁴⁶

46. R. H. Charles, Religious Development between the Old and the New Testaments, pp. 98 f. Cf. A. B. Bruce, The Synoptic Gospels (Vol. I of The Expositor's Greek Testament; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897), p. 252. A. E. J. Rawlinson The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929), p. 144, n. 8.

VI. GENERAL CONCLUSION OF THE BACKGROUND INFLUENCES

In this study of the background influences, the ideas of new creation and rebirth have been included in the concept of regeneration because they are often parallel to each other and are sometimes synonymous.¹ Therefore, it was necessary to discuss the ideas of new creation and rebirth as parts of the concept of regeneration in the background material.

The idea of new creation is definitely a part of the Judaistic literature. The concepts of "restoration" and "new creation" are found in the Old Testament and later passed over into the New Testament. Also, the thought of the new creation in different variations was frequently used in Rabbinic Judaism. The Qumran literature mentions the new creation of the individual three times in the Thanksgiving Psalms. And the Jewish apocalyptic literature describes the new creation of man and of the world at the End. Therefore, it is generally admitted that the idea of new creation in the New Testament probably stems from the Judaistic sources.²

Although the background of the new creation idea in the New Testament is generally conceded to be in the Judaistic sources, there are two different points of view concerning the origin of the rebirth idea. Some hold that the Hellenistic background accounts for the idea

1. C.-M. Edsman ["The Body and Eternal Life," Horae Soederblomianae, I, fasc. ii (1945), p. 42] declares that "re-creation and re-birth are synonymous ideas."

2. F. C. Burkitt, Christian Beginnings (London: University of London Press, Ltd., 1924), pp. 108 f.

of rebirth in the New Testament, while others see in the Judaic sources the more likely environment to influence the content of the rebirth concept in the primitive Christian community.

It has been suggested that the idea of rebirth was taken over exclusively from the mystery religions.³ However, there are several facts which make this suggestion less conclusive than some would have us to believe. First, there are considerable differences between the meaning of rebirth in the mystery religions and in the New Testament. A closer examination of the extant literature of the mysteries is very revealing.⁴ The New Testament does not have any idea of a rebirth effected by a magical rite or by gnosis, that is to say, by revelation, but rebirth in primitive Christianity is a matter of faith in Christ.

Due to the fact that more recent studies have brought out the Jewish antecedents of New Testament ideas, it can now be seen that a plausible source of the basic meaning of the idea of regeneration may be found in the Judaistic background. The Old Testament contains the following material closely relating to rebirth: (1) the metaphors of begetting, one of which is used with a religious significance, and (2) a belief in the inner renewal of the individual at a future time. Next, the Rabbinic literature touches upon the idea of regeneration at several points. In certain situations, according to the Rabbis, man experiences something which corresponds to his creation in his mother's womb and to his birth. Such experiences are: (1) the proselyte becoming as a child

3. C. H. Dodd, The Johannine Epistles (M.N.T.C.; New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1946), p. 68.

4. Vide supra in the section entitled "Rebirth in the Mystery Religions," Chapter I.

newly born, (2) the Israelites at Sinai becoming like new-born children, and (3) in the final resurrection, Sheol giving forth the dead ones as the mother's womb gives forth in birth. Of these, the most important for its possible influence on the New Testament is the change wrought upon the proselyte when he was converted to Judaism.

In addition, Philo was willing to speak of God as begetting the Logos, the world, Adam, and the reasoning faculty of men. The Alexandrian even made use of the terms "second birth" and "divine birth" to describe Moses' experience of being permanently regenerated. Philo's description of spiritual rebirth from the heavenly Father is an important step in the development of the idea of regeneration. The Qumran literature, moreover, makes use of two birth metaphors which are significant. One of the metaphors (Rule of the Congregation ii, 11-12) should probably be translated, "when God begets the Messiah." The other birth metaphor (Thanksgiving Psalms iiii, 3-18) may refer to the power of God working through the author of the Hodayot to give a spiritual rebirth to members of the sect. If these interpretations are correct, the two metaphors are important pre-Christian Jewish usages of the terminology of spiritual begetting. These metaphors in Jewish literature may have paved the way for future use of the metaphor of spiritual birth in the early Christian community. Finally, although the Jewish apocalyptic literature does not use the exact figure of rebirth, it does declare that God will transform the hearts of righteous men to walk in His commandments at the time of the new creation of the world.

Looking at the matter of possible influence upon the New Testament for a moment entirely from the point of view of the dates of the

documents which contain the idea of rebirth, one grasps an important insight. According to Professor Büchsel, there is no positive reference in pre-Christian mystery literature to a being begotten of God, although there is reference to some ritual adoption.⁵ It should be remembered, furthermore, that those passages in the literature of the mysteries which are the nearest parallels to the New Testament are later in date than primitive Christian times. Thus, the writings of the Corpus Hermeticum were produced for the most part in the second and third centuries A. D. And the often quoted Corpus Hermeticum XIII (De Regeneratione) is certainly one of the later Hermetica, which may even show some indirect Christian influence.⁶ On account of the late date of the authorities quoted as evidence for the mystery religions and on other grounds, the objections to the theory that the New Testament concept of regeneration was substantially influenced from the Hellenistic sphere carry a great deal of weight.

On the other hand, there are pre-Christian passages in the Old Testament and the Qumran literature which employ the metaphor of birth in a religious sense. These are found in Psalm 2:7, the Rule of the Congregation ii, 11-12 and the Thanksgiving Psalms iii, 3-18. Due to the fact that these pre-Christian passages are Jewish, the case for the possible influence from the Judaistic background is thereby strengthened.

Since Philo is a contemporary of Jesus Christ, his writings have importance as a mixture of Judaic and Hellenistic thought patterns.

5. Op. cit., T.W.N.T., I, 668.

6. C. H. Dodd, I.F.G., pp. 11 and 52.

Philo states that Moses on Sinai received a "second birth" and a "divine birth" from the heavenly Father. This shows that a Diaspora Jew in the first century whose background included both Judaic and Hellenistic influences could declare God to be the subject of a spiritual begetting of an individual.

Other Judaic sources are later but only slightly less significant. The quotation by Rabbi Jose b. Halaftha (130-160 A. D.) that "a proselyte is like a child newly born" may be somewhat important. This is true because the statement is quoted as an established rule which implies that it was stated earlier and by the time of Rabbi Jose b. Halaftha it had become a generally accepted principle. It should also be mentioned that the same statement of the proselyte being like a new-born child is expressed on five other occasions in Rabbinic literature.⁷ Another item which encourages this view of proselyte conversion as being early is the fact that the baptism of proselytes probably goes back to pre-Christian days.⁸ Although there is no proof that the proselyte was considered as newly born at conversion in pre-Christian times, it is worthwhile to keep this usage of the birth metaphor in mind as a possible segment of the background influences.

These instances--Old Testament, the Qumran texts, and possibly the statements about the proselyte in Rabbinic literature--where the metaphor of birth appears with a religious connotation seem to show that the idea

7. Cf. b Yebamoth 22a, 62a, 97b, b Bekoroth 47a, and the tractate Gerim II, 5.

8. H. H. Rowley, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament, p. 15.

of regeneration in the New Testament could have been derived from the Judaistic milieu. Even Professor Mullenburg asserts, "the imagery of birth was natural to Israel."⁹ Taking into consideration the uniqueness of the Christian message, it does not seem to be an insurmountable step from the religious relationship suggested in (1) Psalm 2:7, (2) the proselyte as newly born, and (3) Philo's idea of the "second birth" of Moses to the profound concept of regeneration in the Johannine literature.

Furthermore, the early Christians had as their Scriptures the Old Testament and most of the New Testament books were written by Jews who were saturated in the Jewish tradition.¹⁰ One example relating to this study is the fact that Psalm 2:7 is quoted four times in the New Testament.¹¹ In reply to this point of view, some would ask where the New Testament writers found such terms as palingenesia to describe the Christian experience of rebirth. The answer to this query is found in several important points. First, it has not been conclusively proven that palingenesia played a role in the mysteries of the first century A. D. Second, Cicero's employment of the term¹² in 50 B. C. demonstrates that

9. Op. cit., I. B., V, 765. Compare Ezekiel 16:3-4, Isaiah 49:20-21; 59:4; Psalm 89:26-27, and also two passages in the LXX text, Psalm 110:3 and Proverbs 8:25.

10. One needs only to look at the five large volumes of Strack and Billerbeck [Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash] to be convinced of the Jewish background of the New Testament. In addition, the evidence now available suggests that John is no longer to be regarded as the most Hellenistic but rather, at least in some respects, the most Jewish of the Gospels. Cf. W. F. Albright, "Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of John," The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, pp. 165-171.

11. Acts 13:33; Hebrews 1:5; 5:5, and certain Western authorities of Luke 3:22.

12. Ad Atticum IV, 6.

a fairly common use of the word was possible among intellectuals some time before Christ. Third, it has been shown that palingenesia and anagennao had become common Greek words as a result of Stoicism.¹³ With the metaphor of birth being given a religious significance in the Judaistic sources and taking into consideration the common usage of the Greek terms in the first century A. D., it appears unnecessary to go outside of the Judaistic background to account for the New Testament idea of regeneration.

On the other hand, there are still some items which can be placed on the Hellenistic side of the argument. One matter to be taken into consideration is that first-century Judaism had already absorbed at least some Hellenistic influence.¹⁴ Also, the ideas in the New Testament are expressed in Greek and the term palingenesia has no exact Hebrew or Aramaic synonym. Accordingly, the language of the mysteries could have been a part in the background of the use of palingenesia in the New Testament, but the native home of the term is in Stoicism. Yet, we cannot be absolutely certain about what overtones the hearers of the first century sensed as they heard these words describe Christian regeneration. Therefore, the influence of the Hellenistic background cannot be excluded.

In order to be fair and accurate in appraising all of the background material, the true picture can probably be more completely expressed by outlining according to the Hegelian formula: thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. The thesis is the assertion that the New Testament concept of regeneration was substantially influenced by the idea in the mystery religions. The antithesis came when scholars began rediscovering the

13. F. Büchsel, T.W.N.T., I, 672, 686.

14. W. D. Davies, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins," Religion in Life, Vol. 25 (1955/56), pp. 254 f.

thought of rebirth in the Judaistic sources. And the synthesis is the view that both spheres had some influence on the New Testament idea. For this reason, some writers hold that the primitive-Christian thought of rebirth might have been taken up by the writers of the New Testament because the idea was "in the air" in both Jewish and Greek environs at that time.¹⁵ The thoughts relating to regeneration may have been a part of a common reservoir of terminology and ideas which were well known in the first century. From this, it becomes increasingly evident that absolute proof of dependence by the New Testament idea of rebirth upon either Hellenistic or Judaic sources is yet to be found.

Nevertheless, if it were necessary to choose which of the background sources had the major influence upon the New Testament idea, our line of reasoning would be as follows: Early Christian thought did not start exclusively from a tabula rasa. And, both the metaphor of birth and the idea of the Spirit of God being poured out to transform the inner man in the future lay ready in the Jewish sources to be used by the early church. Thus, since Christianity is lineally descended from the religion of the Old Testament, and since primitive Christianity had inherited the Jewish opposition against all other religions, it seems probable that the more decisive influence may have come from the Judaistic background.¹⁶ Due to

15. Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, p. 34. Also C. H. Dodd [I.F.G., p. 53] asserts: "Thus we have probably to regard the idea of rebirth as belonging to the common background of thought . . . [of the Hermetic and Christian writers]."

16. Friedrich Büchsel, Die Johannesbriefe, p. 48. Cf. C.E.B. Cranfield, "Birth, Beget, Bear, Regeneration," A Theological Word Book of the Bible, ed. Alan Richardson (London: S.C.M. Press, Ltd., 1950), p. 31.

the fact that Christianity's early contacts with first-century Judaism came before its contacts with Hellenistic paganism, and were far more intimate, first-century Judaism had more immediate possibility of influence upon primitive Christianity than did Hellenistic paganism.¹⁷ Accordingly, the idea of spiritual regeneration in primitive Christianity may well have had the major part of its origin in the Judaistic background.¹⁸ In a word, therefore, the metaphor of rebirth is probably a thought pattern of the first century which included common backgrounds of Jewish thought with some Hellenistic influence.

Finally, it must be remembered that the writers of the New Testament filled these expressions of rebirth with an entirely new meaning. This is aptly expressed as follows:¹⁹

If we compare nascent Christianity with Hellenism, Judaism or the Qumran movement, and investigate all the similarities, we are always left with an inescapable differentiating factor, with the irreducible surd of Christology, with the uniqueness of a Person as the root and ground of Christianity His unique historical existence is the origin of Christianity. Participation 'with' Him means passing through the gates of death 'with' Him to that new life, which partakes already of the blessings of the Reign of God.

The meaning of regeneration in the New Testament was different from the idea of rebirth in any of the background sources because it was grounded in the work of Jesus Christ. And to this unique message of regeneration in the New Testament we now turn for detailed investigation.

17. A. D. Nock, op. cit., Gnomon, XIII (1937), 156.

18. J. V. Bartlet, "Regeneration," A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902), IV, 215.

19. Hugh Anderson, "The Historical Jesus and the Origins of Christianity," S.J.T., XIII (1960), 135-136.

PART II

REGENERATION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

REGENERATION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Introduction and Definition

The concept of regeneration appears in a number of writings in the New Testament. Usually this subject is spoken of in its experimental aspect, while the abstract, eschatological idea occurs less frequently. In those passages where the experimental aspect is considered the idea of regeneration sometimes expresses the act of God, that is, it is God who regenerates; at other times, the idea designates the effect of God's act, that is, it is the sinner who is regenerated and becomes a new creature.¹

A variety of terms are used to express the idea of regeneration. The Greek synonym of the theological term "regeneration" is *παλιγγενεσία* (palingenesia) which occurs only twice in the New Testament.² Since the exact Greek term is used on only two occasions in the Greek Testament, P. Cennrich poses the question, "Does the doctrine of regeneration really take a central position in the Christian religion?"³ Then, he proceeds

1. Bernhard Weiss, Biblical Theology of the New Testament, trans. David Eaton (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1893), I, 215-220 and II, 86-88.

2. Matthew 19:28 and Titus 3:5.

3. Die Lehre von der Wiedergeburt, p. 3.

in three hundred and fifty-five pages to show that regeneration does have an important place in Christian teaching. Although palingenesia itself seldom occurs, the idea of being re-made in Christ appears often in the New Testament writings.⁴ In other words, there are kindred expressions which describe the change in question, and these expressions must be considered in a study of the concept of regeneration in the New Testament.

Among these kindred expressions the following are prominent. The metaphor of the new birth is most distinctively described in the Johannine writings using the expressions $\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\eta\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$ ($\gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$) $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ $\psi\acute{o}\delta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ καὶ $\pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (John 3:3, 5, 8), $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ (I John 2:29; 3:9; 4:7; 5:1, 4, 18). Then, the word $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ is used in James 1:18 to set forth the same thought. In I Peter the verb $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$) is employed (1:3, 23). Another term is found in Titus 3:5: $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega\sigma\epsilon\nu$ $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ $\delta\iota\alpha$ $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\rho\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ καὶ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ $\pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\hbar\gamma\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$. In the Pauline epistles the exact terminology of rebirth is not found, but the same idea lies in $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\grave{\eta}$ $\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ as it is used in II Corinthians 5:17 and Galatians 6:15.⁵ Moreover, even where the expression $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\grave{\eta}$ $\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ is not employed, the Apostle uses other phraseology to express the same thought. Such an allusion without using the exact terminology is found in Romans 6:3-4, where regeneration

4. Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, p. 35.

5. Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 142.

is described as a spiritual resurrection. For this reason, other terms and phrases will be considered later in the discussion which are less prominent but still should be included in a detailed investigation of regeneration in the New Testament.

Although this study includes several expressions, it shall be pointed out as the investigation progresses that these expressions form a group of closely connected ideas. The New Testament presents the complete contrast between two kinds of life, and the importance of passing from the one to the other is expressed by the metaphors of new birth, of resurrection (Eph. 2:5; Col. 2:12 f.), and of new creation. These three metaphors and their kindred expressions will occupy an important place in this dissertation. Before entering a more complete study of these expressions, it seems appropriate at this point to set forth a general definition of regeneration in the primitive Christian faith.

In the New Testament, the idea of regeneration is used in reference to the world and to the individual. In Matthew 19:28, regeneration describes the renewal or restoration of the world in the age to come. This is in connection with the return of Christ and the Judgment. A full explanation of this passage and its implications will be given in the section on the Synoptic Gospels.

Furthermore, it should be noted that there is a transition in the idea of regeneration from world regeneration in the future to individual regeneration which is valid in the present and in the age to come. The Judaic idea of the transformation of the blessed in the age to come and the primitive Christian concept represented in Matthew 19:28 form the background thought concerning eschatological regeneration. From this the

New Testament writers (notably John) transmuted the thought of eschatological regeneration into a spiritual rebirth effective now and continuing in the future age.⁶ Regeneration of the individual thereby is still eschatological in the sense that it is the life of the eschaton realized in the present as a foretaste of the universal Messianic palingenesia. Thus, individual regeneration in the present life being a foretaste of the eschatological palingenesia is considered the final form in which primitive Christianity conceives that profound spiritual change whereby sinful man comes into real and abiding communion with God.⁷

Referring to the experimental aspect of the term, it can be said generally that regeneration means the entrance into the Christian state of salvation as a new beginning of life.⁸ Of course, this involves the forsaking of the former mode of existence and includes far-reaching consequences of the course which has been entered. Professor James Orr defines regeneration of the individual as "that decisive spiritual change, effected by God's Holy Spirit in which a soul naturally estranged from God and ruled by sinful principles, is renewed in disposition, becomes the subject of holy affections and desires, and enters on a life of progressive sanctification, the issue of which is complete likeness to Christ."⁹

6. C. H. Dodd, I.F.G., p. 304.

7. J. V. Bartlet, "Regeneration," A Dictionary of the Bible, IV, 220.

8. P. Gennrich, op. cit., p. 3. In fact, the basic definition of palingenesia is said to be "a new beginning." Cf. F. Büchsel, op. cit., T.W.N.T., I, 685. The same is implied in C. H. Dodd's [I.F.G., p. 297] treatment of John 3:1 ff.

9. "Regeneration," Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings (one volume edition; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1909), p. 787.

Looking at the meaning from another point of view, L. Berkhof probably states the definition more lucidly in some aspects by saying, "Regeneration is that act of God by which the principle of the new life is implanted in man, and the governing disposition of the soul is made holy, and the first holy exercise of this new disposition is secured."¹⁰

The metaphor of rebirth is a natural one taken from the family setting. It probably arises from the personal experience expressed in such a phrase as "I have become quite a different person."¹¹ Regeneration is an apt figure to express the completeness of the change. This implies that the previous condition of man's nature was in bondage to sin. Man had turned away from God and loved the world. In this condition, God alone has power to bring about the spiritual change which is necessary to rectify the sinful heart. Although it is not said in these exact words, regeneration is understood in the New Testament to be a radical transformation upon the whole man changing his emotional, intellectual and volitional nature to be in harmony with the mind and will of God.¹² Man, needless to say, is unable to effect this change in himself, but the Holy Spirit, endowed with power, comes into hearts which are opened to receive Him and produces this fast change. For this reason, the classical statement of the meaning of regeneration is "that work of the Holy Spirit in a man by which a new life of holy love, like the life of God, is initiated."¹³

10. Systematic Theology (fourth edition; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1949), p. 469.

11. E. G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1947), p. 123.

12. James Orr, op. cit., p. 788. Charles Hodge, Systematic Theology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), III, 5.

13. J. V. Bartlet, "Regeneration," op. cit., IV, 221.

Although the transformation of the inner man is effected by Divine power, this does not mean that it is a magical work in the sense of being bound up with rites or ceremonies, so that, when these are performed, regeneration automatically takes place.¹⁴ God does not give a new life to men because of deeds they have done but because of His grace they receive this gift (Titus 3:5). Yet, it is those who believe in Jesus Christ that are the ones who are born of God (John 1: 12 f.).

The instrument by which the Holy Spirit effects this change is declared to be "the word of God."¹⁵ To express it in another way, the word of the gospel is the means by which the Holy Spirit communicates the new life. This has application to the fact that regeneration is effected by the use of rational means, because it is associated with the outward call of the gospel.

Since regeneration is a new birth, it is the beginning of spiritual growth. The recently transformed man is going to have to learn to put away the old habits because he has "put off the old nature with its practices" and has "put on the new nature" (Col. 3:9-10). This new nature will be continually renewed by the indwelling Spirit (2 Cor. 4:16; Eph. 3:16).

Having given a general definition of regeneration, it is well at this point to state the fact that our understanding of this soteriological

14. F. Buchsel, T.W.N.T., I, 688. The relation between regeneration and baptism will be set forth in later sections of the dissertation.

15. I Peter 1:23, and James 1:18 reads "the word of truth." Cf. Joseph B. Mayor, The Epistle of St. James (third edition; London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1910), p. 63.

idea is not complete. One reason for this is that the spiritual transformation of man by God is a mystery which man cannot thoroughly comprehend.¹⁶ Such a change upon the inner nature must necessarily be only partially expressed by the New Testament writers. Also it should be made clear at this point that it is not the purpose of this study to examine the idea of regeneration from the point of view of modern psychology. That would require a complete monograph in itself. The approach taken in this dissertation is that of the Biblical theology of the New Testament.

Another word of caution is appropriate here. Although regeneration is a suitable figure to express the radical change which takes place when the non-Christian becomes a Christian, it can be pressed too much. For instance, it might be argued that regeneration, being the beginning of the Christian life, must precede every other Christian experience such as conversion and justification. However, this is not the case. For example, one could say that conversion is man's turning to God in repentance and faith, while regeneration is the act of God which changes man into a new creature.¹⁷ Generally, speaking, when man turns to God in conversion, God regenerates him. There is, nevertheless, a unity of the whole experience of salvation. Due to these factors, this investigation will aim at remaining true to the concept of regeneration in the primitive Christian belief.

In order to present the primitive Christian meaning of regeneration, the plan of this part of the dissertation is to present the concept as it

16. Charles Hodge, op. cit., III, 6.

17. J. T. Marshall, "Regeneration," E.R.E., X, 639.

is found in certain major areas of the New Testament: Synoptic Gospels, Pauline literature, General Epistles, and Johannine writings. Now we will proceed to consider the idea of regeneration as it is found in the accounts of the Synoptic writers.

CHAPTER III

THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

Introduction

The Synoptic Gospels do not contain a great deal of material directly relating to regeneration, but they do present the first elements of the concept. The relative scarcity of Synoptic passages which clearly present the concept of regeneration should not cause undue concern. A group of writings in the New Testament may stress one of the soteriological metaphors while another group may emphasize a different figure. However, the first three Gospels exhibit enough acquaintance with the idea of regeneration to enable one to understand better the further development of it in other sections of the New Testament.

Two major aspects of regeneration are found in the Synoptics. First, the notion of the eschatological regeneration of the world is affirmed. Second, the idea of individual regeneration appears to be explicitly set forth in two passages while it is implied in other passages.

I. COSMIC REGENERATION

In the Old Testament the final consummation is described as a restoration, sometimes in the sense of bringing about a glorified Davidic monarchy and sometimes in the sense of re-establishing man's primitive state. The thought of shub shebut ("to bring about the restoration of") was an important theme which was used in the Old Testament to present the concept of restoration.¹ Moreover, the idea of the new creation of the world is found in the Jewish apocalyptic literature.² Using the terminology of new creation and transformation, the apocalyptic writers give glimpses of the creation of a new heaven and a new earth in a vast scene of cosmic regeneration. Included in this new order of the age to come is both the thought of the eschatological renewal of men's hearts as well as the new creation of the entire universe. This hope of the new creation of the world probably passes from Jewish apocalyptic into Christianity.³

The New Testament maintains that the mighty work of cosmic regeneration has been begun by God through Jesus Christ, although this is seen for the time being only by the eye of faith. Christ's coming in human flesh was the inauguration of the new creation, and his resurrection

1. Vide supra in the section on "The Concept of Return" in "The Old Testament," Chapter II.

2. Vide supra in the section on "The New Creation of the World" in "The Apocalyptic Literature," Chapter II.

3. R. H. Charles, Religious Development between the Old and the New Testaments, pp. 98 f.

made possible potentially the new creation of all mankind.⁴ The time is coming when the cosmic regeneration will be revealed to all men at the second coming of Christ. In this connection, a very significant passage is found in Matthew 19:28:⁵

Jesus said to them, "Truly, I say to you, in the new world [παλιγγενεσία], when the Son of man shall sit on his glorious throne, you who have followed me will also sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

The term παλιγγενεσία used here occurs at no other place in the New Testament except in Titus 3:5. Since this Greek expression cannot be literally translated either into Hebrew or Aramaic, its selection for use at this point may be traced to the Evangelist himself. Concerning an Aramaic equivalent, Gustaf Dalman asserts:⁶

The East Syrian version (Cur. Sin. Pesh.) despaired of

a verbal reproduction, using ܐܢܬܝܢ ܕܢܝܚܐ , 'in the new world'. This, in fact, is what would have to be proposed in Jewish Aramaic also.

4. Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, p. 35.

5. Although the phrase "in the palingenesia" has no exact parallel in the other two Gospels, Matthew 19:28 is partially parallel to Luke 22:29-30. Along with the picture of the judging of the twelve tribes of Israel, Luke 22:28-30 describes the disciples as being partakers of the Messianic banquet which has a prominent place in the new world. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake consider the thought of the Matthaean passage to belong to the oldest part of the non-Markan tradition which gives great importance to its testimony. Cf. The Beginnings of Christianity, I, 298.

6. The Words of Jesus (1902), p. 177. Discussing the Matthaean usage, A. Schlatter [Der Evangelist Matthäus (dritte auflage; Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1948), p. 583] suggests as a Hebrew equivalent to ἡ παλιγγενεσία the similar expression ܐܢܬܝܢ ܕܢܝܚܐ , which refers to the renovation of the world. But Otto Procksch ["Wiederkehr und Wiedergeburt," p. 6, n. 2] admits that these are makeshifts for the un-Semitic palingenesia.

From the fact that the early usage of palingenesia outside of the New Testament may refer to the world, the nation or the individual,⁷ one could ask what is the reference of the term in the Gospel according to

Matthew. In answer to this query, the main reference of the Matthaean phrase ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ is made clear by that which

immediately follows in the Greek: ὅταν καθίσῃ
ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ θρόνου
δόξης αὐτοῦ, καθήσεται καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ
δώδεκα θρόνους κρίνοντες τὰς δώδεκα
φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.

Due to the fact that the term is connected with the idea of the parousia of Christ, palingenesia in this context refers primarily to the general renewal, the "re-genesis" or "second Genesis"⁸ of the world at the consummation of this age. This fact is further emphasized by the use of the phrase "in the age to come" in the other partially parallel passages found in Mark 10:30 and Luke 18:30. Therefore, the Matthaean account has in mind the glorious establishment of the Kingdom at the beginning of the future age (cf. Luke 22:29-30).

With this context in mind, the phrase could be translated in Matthew 19:28 as follows: "in the Regeneration" (of the world), "in the Restoration" (of the world), or "in the new world." The usage of

7. Vide supra in the section on "Early Usage of Palingenesia," Chapter I.

8. A. B. Bruce, "The Synoptic Gospels," The Expositor's Greek Testament, I, 252. Matthew Black, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam," S.J.T., VII (1954), p. 170, n. 3. Cf. Eduard Norden, Die Geburt des Kindes (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1924), pp. 46-47. Moreover, Philo Judaeus comes close to the Matthaean meaning when he uses palingenesia to set forth the concept of the renewal of the world after the Flood (De Vita Mosis ii, 65).

palingenesis in its cosmic significance refers to the fact that in the age to come there will be a new heaven and a new earth,⁹ or, in other words, a renewed creation (Rom. 8:18-22). Moreover, the belief suggested in the Matthaean passage is probably the same as was set forth earlier in the Jewish apocalyptic literature; namely, there will be either a transformation of this present world, or the creation of a new world after the destruction of the old one.¹⁰ The regeneration of the world will take place in the future¹¹ when Jesus returns as the glorified Son of Man and the Twelve will "sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." In this way, the return of Christ is closely associated with the final judgment¹² and the restoration¹³ of the world.

9. Isaiah 65:17; 66:22; II Peter 3:11-15; Rev. 21:1-5.

10. A. H. M'Neile, The Gospel according to St. Matthew (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1915), p. 281. According to Professor William Manson, the more Biblical mode of thinking signifies not the final destruction or displacement of the cosmos but the renovation of this same world by the power of God. Cf. "Eschatology in the New Testament," Eschatology, eds. T. P. Torrance and J.K.S. Reid (No. 2 of S.J.T. Occasional Papers, pp. 10 and 15.

11. Yet, Alan Richardson [An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, p. 36] appears to understand Matthew 19:28 to refer to the present lives of the apostles, because he declares: "... the apostles had been appointed by Christ to rule the Church--i.e., the twelve tribes of the new Israel--regarded as the sphere of 'the regeneration' now proleptically accomplished."

12. Erich Klostermann, Das Mattheusevangelium (Vol. IV of H.z.N.T., zweite auflage; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1927), p. 159. Moreover, E. W. Heaton [The Book of Daniel, p. 100] maintains that the picture of "thrones" in Matthew 19:28 is borrowed from the Judgment Scene in Daniel 7:9-10. Cf. J. Dey, op. cit., p. 30.

13. Another passage which combines the concepts of the final restoration and the return of Christ is Acts 3:21. Here ἀποκαταστήσει πάντων ("restoration of all things") is employed instead of palingenesis. For a discussion of this passage, see above in the section on "The Concept of Return" in "the Old Testament." It is also interesting that Josephus (Jewish Antiquities XI, iii, 8-9) uses ἀποκαταστήσει to designate the restoration of the people of Israel after the Exile and then just following this he selects palingenesis to express the same idea.

In Stoic philosophy palingenesia was a technical term to refer to the periodical renovations of the world after successive destructions by fire. Probably, the Stoic preachers had widely popularized the fact that this term had the connotation of world regeneration. For this reason, Matthew may have been influenced indirectly by Stoicism in his selection of this Greek word to express the idea set forth in Matthew 19:28.¹⁴ Yet, the Stoic view of continuing destructions and regenerations of the world was not brought over into early Christian thinking, because the gospel told men that time was leading to a great goal which was a full and utter realization of the eschatologically new. Therefore, the Jewish belief concerning the final renewal of the world makes up the principal background of Matthew's use of palingenesia.¹⁵ The Evangelist used this word as the nearest Greek equivalent of the Hebrew idea of renewal of creation.¹⁶

According to the Matthaean account, Jesus confirmed the expectation of the Jews that in the age to come there would be a great renovation of this present world. Since the New Testament writers had not experienced this eschatological palingenesia, they sought for ways to express this

14. F. Buchsel [T.W.N.T., I, 687] asserts that the Stoic language usage is recognizable behind this Jewish-Christian utilization of palingenesia, although the Matthaean account employs the term in the sense of Jewish and Christian eschatology. Cf. further in the section on "Regeneration in Stoic Philosophy," Chapter I.

15. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, op. cit., I, 297-298. Vide further the conclusion of the section on "The Apocalyptic Literature," Chapter II, and also Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., I, 828, and III, 840-847. On the other hand, Jesus did not just fit His message into the late Jewish apocalyptic which looked for no salvation in the present. Jesus linked the present to the future by proclaiming that the future Kingdom of God is already at work in the present. Cf. W. G. Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment, trans. Dorothea M. Barton (Studies in Biblical Theology. London: S.C.M. Press, Ltd., 1957), pp. 153-154.

16. A.E.J. Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ, p. 144, n. 8.

final renovation of all things. One way they expressed themselves was to suggest that this present world would be restored to something like pristine perfection. And it seems to be assumed in Matthew 19:28 that there will be a new formation of the entire universe in order to be somewhat like it was in its original perfection before the Fall of man.¹⁷ In addition to the fact that the renovation of the world is described in terms of pristine perfection, the New Testament writers set forth clearly that the future age of the world is certainly to be new. The new creation of the world surpasses that which precedes it. And, strictly speaking, the Biblical concept of the eschatological "new" at the End designates the accomplished state as over against the becoming element.¹⁸ Therefore, although the cosmic renewal is portrayed in terms relating to the pristine perfection, it was understood by New Testament writers that the eschatologically new is to be superior and final.

In addition to the main thought of the regeneration of the world found in Matthew 19:28, there also appears to be a secondary reference to the hope of national restoration. By the mention of the Twelve sitting "on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel," Matthew probably shows himself to be a Jew who could not forget that to him the renovation of the world included in some way the restoration of the twelve

17. J. Dey, op. cit., p. 146. J. V. Bartlett, "Regeneration," op. cit., IV, 214.

18. Roy A. Harrisville, The Concept of Newness in the New Testament (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960), pp. 36-45.

tribes of Israel.¹⁹ In the Jewish apocalyptic literature, there are some passages in which the picture of the future age centered mainly around national hopes; however, in other passages there is evidence of a new enlarged eschatology which occupied itself with the world, mankind and with the individual. It is likely that the Evangelist had in mind both the palingenesia of the world and the restoration of the nation.²⁰ Since the second coming of Christ at the beginning of the future age sets the tone of the passage, the primary emphasis is upon the cosmic renewal but this also seems to include some elements of national restoration.

Not only does the cosmic regeneration of Matthew 19:28 appear to include secondarily some aspects of national restoration, the passage also indirectly connotes the eschatological regeneration of the individual.²¹ The expectation was for a complete transformation from the earthly order into the heavenly order. This transformation involves the palingenesia of the individual saint at the parousia of Christ. It is also possible that this statement in Matthew may implicitly refer back from the end of time

19. A. Schlatter, Der Evangelist Matthäus, p. 583. On the other hand, F. W. Green [The Gospel according to Saint Matthew (The Clarendon Bible. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), p. 222] holds that "the twelve tribes of Israel" is a designation which refers to the New Israel, the Christian Ecclesia. In addition, O. Cullmann ["The Kingship of Christ and the Church of the New Testament," The Early Church, ed. A.J.B. Higgins (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956), p. 119] suggests that this passage refers to the Church projecting into the opening phase of the future age.

20. W. C. Allen, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew (I.C.C.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907), p. 212. Cf. C. G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1927), II, 270.

21. P. Gennrich, op. cit., p. 6.

to the renewal in this life which is necessary for those who will experience the final regeneration.²² In this case, the inward regeneration of the individual as an earnest of the final regeneration at the consummation of this age may be indirectly implied in the palingenesia according to the Matthaean usage.²³ Due to the tension in the New Testament between the "already fulfilled" and the "not yet completed," it can be said that a person who has passed into the new life already belongs to the future regeneration of the world.²⁴ Therefore, in one sense the promise of Matthew 19:28 has already come true. At the same time, a person's new spiritual relationship to God, which was made possible by the work of Christ, cannot be understood in its completeness apart from the resurrection of the body at the end of time. Only at the final resurrection will regeneration be completely fulfilled.

In this way, palingenesia is related to the final ἀνάστασις.²⁵

22. L. S. Thornton, The Common Life in the Body of Christ, pp. 191-194.

23. James Denney, "Regeneration," A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, James Hastings, editor (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908), II, 486.

24. L. S. Thornton, op. cit., p. 190. The thought is expressed in Ephesians 2:5-6 that those who have been given new life are already risen with Christ and seated with Him in the heavenly places. Moreover, in connection with Matthew 19:28, H. Lesetre ["Régénération," Dictionnaire de la Bible, ed. F. Vigouroux (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1912), Vol. V, Col. 1021] can say: "La resurrection corporelle est l'image de la resurrection spiritual." Cf. O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, p. 233.

25. F. Büchsel [T.W.N.T., I, p. 673, n. 9] declares that palingenesia in Matthew is an "expression of the resurrection hope." In fact, H. G. Liddell and R. Scott [op. cit., II, 1291] consider palingenesia to mean "resurrection" in Matthew 19:28. Furthermore, both Origen, In Lucam, Hom. XIV (ed. M. Rauer, p. 99, line 11) and Methodius, De resurrectione II, 18, 10 (ed. G. N. Bonwetsch, p. 371, line 2) employ the term palingenesia with the meaning of ἀνάστασις. In Origen's De oratione 25, 3 (ed. P. Koetschau, II, p. 359, line 14, and footnote), palingenesia stands as the designation of the new age and should be compared with Matthew 19:28.

And, if this thought is pursued, the gospel writer may have had in the background of his thinking that the righteous are to become "like angels in heaven" (Mark 12:45) who "will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father" (Matt. 13:43). Thus, the palingenesia at the end of this age includes the idea that the faithful ones will be raised from the dead and will become clothed with the resurrection body.²⁶ But the hope of the early Christians concerning the fulfilment of this expectation was centered in the return of Jesus Christ.

Having considered the three ideas suggested in Matthew 19:28, it is worthwhile to mention that the thought of this passage may have had a definite influence upon other areas of the New Testament. It is significant that Professor C. H. Dodd²⁷ views this eschatological conception of the transformation of the world as the direct antecedent of the Johannine doctrine of regeneration. In Matthew 19:28, this transformation is called *ἡ παλιγγενεσία*. According to Dodd, the Johannine literature just slightly modifies the eschatological conception of regeneration by making regeneration no longer to be relegated exclusively to the future

The Greek texts of these works are found in Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899-1930). Cf. also The Testament of Judah 25:1 (R. H. Charles, Ap. and Ps., II, p. 324 and footnote 1).

26. According to O. Cullmann ["The Proleptic Deliverance of the Body according to the New Testament," The Early Church, pp. 165 ff.], passages, such as the saying of Jesus, "today you will be with me in Paradise" (Luke 23:43), are only anticipations of the future. The resurrection of the body comes only at the end of time. However, "since Christ has lived on earth in flesh and blood, the proleptic redemption of the body has taken place in his person" (p. 167).

27. I.F.G., p. 304.

renewal of the world but possible--though unseen--in the individual heart here and now as an earnest of the final consummation. In this way, regeneration in the Fourth Gospel does not focus attention upon the future miracle wrought on all things in the world, but upon a miracle of God effective on the total personality here and now. This has deep religious meaning.

Although this may well have been one train of thought which influenced John in his profound development of the concept of regeneration, the Synoptics themselves contain passages which suggest the idea of individual regeneration.

II. INDIVIDUAL REGENERATION

At the outset, it seems the course of wisdom to admit that the idea of individual regeneration is not found as a fully developed and pointedly discussed doctrine in the Synoptic Gospels.¹ It only occurs in embryo and then, outside of two important passages, the incipient idea is but implicitly expressed. Nevertheless, in a study of regeneration in the New Testament, the idea of regeneration as it begins to show itself in the Synoptics cannot be overlooked.

One reason why the first three Gospels do not stress the concept of regeneration is that they make frequent use of another soteriological metaphor. The metaphor which is often employed is that of repentance. The Synoptics emphasize repentance almost to the exclusion of regeneration. However, just the reverse is the case for the Fourth Gospel. Regeneration is forcefully presented in the Gospel of John while repentance is not mentioned except on one occasion when quoting the Old Testament (John 12:40). Needless to say, both of these metaphors are parts of the one salvation.

Although the Synoptic Gospels do not contain a great deal of material concerning regeneration, it is essential to go back to the teaching of Jesus in order to see the real basis for the idea of regeneration

1. In fact, some would maintain that the conception of rebirth is absent entirely from the Synoptic Gospels. Cf. L. E. Elliott-Binns, "James I. 18: Creation or Redemption?" N.T.S., III (1957), 157.

in the remainder of the New Testament. Of course, the exact metaphor of "rebirth" is not explicitly set forth, but the idea may be found there expressed in different words. The basic idea of regeneration is that of a "beginning again" or a "new beginning" spiritually.² In substance, the basic thought is that somehow a man becomes another man inwardly; he enters into a new order of being. When this notion is found in the Synoptic Gospels, one will have found at least an indirect expression of the basic idea of regeneration.

The suggestions of individual regeneration in the Synoptic Gospels are found in connection with several ideas. In any treatment of the soteriology of the Synoptics, the idea of newness must be considered. In addition, the thoughts relating to entering the kingdom of God have a very important bearing upon individual regeneration. In the section on entering the kingdom of God, there will be a discussion of those passages which imply that a transformation takes place when one enters the kingdom, and this will be followed by an investigation of one particular passage which points directly toward regeneration. Finally, there will be an explanation of the metaphor of spiritual resurrection found in the Parable of the Prodigal Son and its relationship to the concept of regeneration. Each of these ideas will be considered in the sections which follow.

THE IDEA OF NEWNESS

The concept of newness in the Synoptic Gospels is apropos of the soteriological teaching of Jesus because it throws light upon the new life

2. F. Buchsel, op. cit., T.W.N.T., I, 685.

which Jesus came to make possible for man. In fact, certain aspects of the idea of newness point implicitly toward the concept of regeneration. It should be remembered that the Old Testament prophets spoke of the need for an inner renewal of individuals in the future.³ Jesus begins His preaching by calling for a thorough change of man and an entire reorientation of the personality (Mark 1:14-15). He demands nothing less than a radical turning about for those who would come and follow Him (Luke 14:26). In the life and ministry of Jesus there was an understood idea that something new was taking place.

The concept of newness is contained in the significance which the Synoptic accounts see in the incarnation of Jesus Christ. According to C. F. Burney,⁴ the Gospel according to Luke considers the advent of Jesus Christ on earth as a new creation which could be compared with the first creation of the world. In the birth narrative of Luke, the angel said to Mary, "The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you" (1:35). This is considered as a clear reference⁵ to Genesis 1:2 which describes the Spirit of God as brooding or hovering over the face of the waters in the first creation⁶ which

3. Vide supra in the section concerning "Inward Renewal in the Future" in "The Old Testament."

4. The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1922), p. 43.

5. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (1948), p. 40. Cf. Alfred Plummer, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke (I.C.C.; New York: Charles Scribner's, 1902), p. 24.

6. In addition to this, the Synoptic accounts of the baptism of Jesus have characteristics which are comparable with the first creation. The symbolism of the dove is best explained as being connected with the picture of the Spirit of God hovering creatively over the primeval waters. Cf. C. K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition, p. 39.

results in the bringing forth of light. It is Luke's conviction that the birth of Jesus Christ means the dawning of "the dayspring from on high to give light to those who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death" (1:78-79), and "a light for revelation to the Gentiles" (2:32). Therefore, to Luke the incarnation of Christ was a new creation.

In view of the fact that Christ's advent was thought of as a new creation which could be compared with the first creation, the transition to the thought of Christ as the Second Adam was not too difficult, and this thought is seen in the "Son of man" concept. According to the first three Gospels the "Son of man" appears to be the title which Jesus prefers in referring to Himself; whereas, the Gospel writers themselves never call Him by this designation.⁷ The title "Son of man" in the Gospels is a slavish rendering of the original Aramaic bar nasha and the idiomatic translation of the Aramaic would likely not be $\delta \ \upsilon\acute{\iota}\acute{o}\varsigma \ \tau\omicron\upsilon \ \alpha\acute{\nu}\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon$ but simply $\delta \ \alpha\acute{\nu}\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$, "the man."⁸ Thus, bar nasha is an Aramaic idiom capable of conveying the sense "the man," and of being used in a Messianic sense.

The designation "Son of man" was employed in the vocabulary of the Apocalyptic literature (Daniel, IV Esdras xiii, and the Similitudes of Enoch) and used not in its literal sense but as a symbol for something else. According to Daniel 7:13 ff., the expression "one like a son of

7. The title "Son of man" occurs 69 times in the Synoptic Gospels, while it does not appear in the Pauline writings. Cf. O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, pp. 137, 152, 164.

8. T. W. Manson, The Teachings of Jesus (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1945), p. 212. C. H. Dodd, "The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ," A Companion to the Bible, T. W. Manson, editor (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956), p. 373.

"Man" is to be understood as meaning "the people of the saints of the Most High." In view of the collective use of this designation in Daniel, it is probable that Jesus was aware that as the "Son of man" He represented the remnant of Israel and through it all mankind.⁹ On the other hand, often in using the title "Son of man" Jesus appears to think primarily of an individual redeeming figure. In this connection it should be noted that for Jewish thought the representative can be identified with the group he represents. So the individual interpretation does not exclude the collective one.

Jesus ascribed the function of the Son of man to Himself in His earthly life's work. After Peter's confession, Jesus "began to teach them that the Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected . . . and be killed, and after three days rise again" (Mark 8:31). In view of this, Jesus thought of the Son of man as incarnate in a man in the ordinary framework, a man among men.

In addition to what has been said about the use of the designation "son of man" in Apocalyptic literature and about the termological meaning of bar nasha as being "the man" in contrast to God, it should also be mentioned that the term ben adam, child of man, is used often in the Old Testament, especially in the Psalms, and designates human weakness or helplessness before God's omnipotence. Jesus was probably familiar with these matters relating to the Jewish concept "son of man," and was aware of these ideas when He identified Himself as the Son of man.¹⁰

9. J. Y. Campbell, "The Origin and Meaning of the Term Son of Man," JIT.S., XLVIII (1947), 155. T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, pp. 227-236.

10. O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, p. 163.

Accordingly, in its deepest meaning in the teaching of Jesus, which is clear from the designation itself, "Son of man" represents humanity. In fact, one reason Jesus made use of the Son of man concept was to show His oneness with humanity.¹¹ The saying in which Jesus declares, "Foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man has nowhere to lay his head" (Matt. 8:20; Luke 9:58), expresses both His true humanity and His solidarity with mankind.¹² The Man represents all men, and thus as the Son of man also shares in their weaknesses. Jesus was conscious of representing humanity. Consequently, it can be proposed that when Jesus applied the title Son of man to Himself, He connected His work in some way with the divine creation of man and with Adam. This points to the idea of Jesus Christ being the Second Adam.

Another place where the identification of Christ with the Second Adam appears is in the Synoptic accounts of the temptation of Jesus. In the Marcan account of the Temptation (1:12-13), the scenery appears to be the Garden of Eden so Christ is set against the same background as was the first Adam. Moreover, in the Synoptic accounts of the Temptation there is an implied contrast between the disobedience of Adam and the obedience of Jesus. This must be an indication that the Synoptic writers thought of Jesus as the Second Adam!¹³

11. Cf. Matthew 25:31-46. William Manson, Jesus the Messiah, pp.165-167.

12. Matthew Black, "Unsolved New Testament Problems: The 'Son of Man' in the Teaching of Jesus," Exp. T., LX (1948), p. 35.

13. Gösta Lindeskog, "Studien zum neutestamentlichen Schöpfungsgedanken," Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, Band II of 1952, Section 11, p. 218. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 42. In addition, J. Jeremias ["ὁ υἱος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου", T.W.N.T., I, 141] makes the suggestion that Luke's tracing of the genealogy of Jesus back to ". . . the son of Adam, the son of God" (3:38) and then immediately following this with the knowledge of the Adam/Christ typology. /

In using the title bar nasha to indicate His work, Jesus thought of the Son of man both as being incarnate in flesh to suffer and die "as a ransom for many" (Mark 10:45), and as "coming with the clouds of heaven" (Mark 14:62). Thus, He was to be humiliated by men but eventually exalted by God. Because of this attitude, Jesus probably understood His work in connection with God's purpose of creating man "in his own image." Even Jesus' own self-consciousness as Messiah implies re-creation, which is to say, that the adjective "Messianic" is almost a synonym for "eschatological."¹⁴

From all of this, it can be seen that it was Jesus' intention as the Son of man to create a new humanity, a new "Adam," a people of the saints of the Most High.¹⁵ And, apparently, Jesus saw the connection between "Son of man" and Adam before Paul saw it.¹⁶ Jesus set out to create the corporate Son of man and much of His teaching implicitly points in this direction. The climax is seen in that the sufferings and death of Jesus are actually the birth-pangs of the new humanity.¹⁷

14. O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, p. 111.

15. A. Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, pp. 125, 136.

16. This is not too difficult to understand because of the Adamic speculations of first century Judaism. Cf. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (1948), pp. 44-55. Matthew Black [S.J.T., VII, 173] considers Paul's usage of the second Adam idea as a substitute for the Synoptic Son of man. Furthermore, Eduard Schweizer ["The Son of Man," J.B.L., LXXIX (1960), 127] adds: "That it really was a Son of man concept which led Paul to conceive of Jesus Christ as the second Adam, is very probable."

17. T. W. Manson, The Teachings of Jesus, p. 235.

Turning from the notion of Christ as the new Adam, we must also examine other aspects of the newness of Jesus' work. In spite of the fact that Jesus felt a certain sense of succession in His work with the Old Testament (Matt. 5:17), He was equally aware that the time of fulfilment was at hand and a new era was beginning (Luke 16:16). He differentiated the old from the new by saying that the least in the Kingdom of God is greater than the greatest in the old dispensation (Matt. 11:11). This same distinction is further emphasized in Jesus' teaching about Himself. He was conscious of a unique filial relationship to God. This is most conclusively shown in Luke 10:22 which reads:¹⁸

All things have been delivered to me by my Father; and no one knows who the Son is except the Father, or who the Father is except the Son and any one to whom the Son chooses to reveal him.

In other words, Jesus Christ alone knows God truly as Father, and for that supreme knowledge all men must become debtors to Him. Then, the man who knows the Father through Jesus becomes a completely different man. Jesus reveals the Father and carries out God's redeeming purpose for the sons of men. Therefore, the idea of a spiritual new beginning for men is a logical deduction from Jesus' own revelation of Himself as one who had absolute significance in determining the relations of God and man.¹⁹

18. According to A. M. Hunter [The Work and Words of Jesus (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1950), p. 137], Luke 10:22 is a Q saying and is parallel to Matthew 11:27. Although some writers, such as S. Maclean Gilmour ["The Gospel according to St. Luke" (Exegesis Commentary), I. B., VIII, 191], hold that this saying is a later interpolation, the present writer agrees with W. C. Allen [A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew, p. 123] and Alfred Plummer [A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke, p. 282], who believe the saying to be genuine.

19. James Denney, "Regeneration," op. cit., II, 486.

Although Matthew 11:27 presents the Sonship of Jesus as particularized in the extreme, there is also a sonship to God which is open to all men. Jesus' Sonship is a sonship by right, while the latter is a sonship by grace. Jesus said: "Love your enemies . . . so that you may be sons of your Father" (Matt. 5:44-45). This passage admits that men can become sons of the heavenly Father. The implication of these two passages appears to be that those who become followers of Jesus become sons of the Father. Yet, this privilege is a gift which is brought about by the power of God. Only those plants which the Heavenly Father has planted will endure.²⁰

At the same time, in becoming a child of God the response of man is necessary. The meaning of Jesus' message has been hidden from the "wise" because of their intellectual pride, but the "babes," who have the simplicity, the trust, the childlike heart, are ready to hear and accept the gospel.²¹ Jesus claims to stand in a special relationship to God and to be the mediator through whom others may be brought into a similar relationship. In this way, there is bestowed upon those who are receptive the gift of sonship.²² This sonship--given through Jesus Christ--brings about a change in the person who becomes a child of God.

Not only is the new gift of sonship set forth in the Synoptics, but there is also presented the new gift of power through Jesus Christ upon those who believe. From the miracles of healing and raising the

20. Matthew 15:13. Cf. A. Schlatter, Der Evangelist Matthäus, p. 484.

21. Matthew 11:25-27; Luke 10:21-22.

22. T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, p. 112.

dead in the Synoptic accounts, it appears that the writers intended to convey that the living power of God was being manifested in a new way through His Son, Jesus Christ (Matt. 11:5; Luke 5:17). These accounts show that the power of God can have effect here and now upon those who believe. Moreover, the miraculous deeds of Jesus are of such significance that, according to G. Lindeskog,²³ they are to be compared with the creative acts of God. In Matthew 12:28 Jesus says that He casts out demons by the Spirit of God. Since disease is a form of death, the healing miracles of Jesus demonstrate the power of life overcoming the power of death.²⁴ Therefore, through Jesus Christ the living power of God became effective on earth in a manner which had not been brought about previous to this time.

There are other instances where the idea of newness comes to the surface in the Synoptic Gospels. The parables concerning the New Patches on Old Garments and New Wine in Old Wine-skins suggest the seed of the New Testament view of the new order.²⁵ That the new (νέος) wine is to be put into fresh (καινός) wineskins signifies that the new things which Jesus brings cannot be accommodated to the old manner of thinking and living in the Jewish religion. The same idea is probably

23. "Studien zum neutestamentlichen Schöpfungsgedanken," p. 218.

24. O. Cullmann, "The Proleptic Deliverance of the Body according to the New Testament," The Early Church, p. 167. To Reginald H. Fuller [The Mission and Achievement of Jesus, p. 119], Jesus' miracles had a future orientation in that they pointed toward the crucifixion and resurrection where the decisive battle against the power of evil was won.

25. Mark 2:21 f.; Matt. 9:16 f.; Luke 5:36-38.

hinted at when the Gospel writer records the occasion when Jesus went into the synagogue at Capernaum and the people exclaimed; "What is this? A new teaching!" (δ.δ.α.χ.ῆ καὶ νῆ , Mark 1:27).

The concept of newness is expressed in the Synoptic accounts of the Last Supper. Luke's text²⁶ of the words of the institution declares: "This cup which is poured out for you is the new covenant [ἡ καὶ νῆ διαθήκη] in my blood" (22:20). Although the texts of Matthew (26:28) and Mark (14:24) leave out the adjective καὶ νός and read "this is my blood of the covenant," the meaning in Mark/Matthew and Luke is the same. Both compare the wine with the blood and the outpouring of the blood is the basis for the establishing of the new covenant. This thought goes back to the covenant which God made with the chosen people at Sinai.²⁷

In addition, the words of the Institution recall the promise of the new covenant found in Jeremiah 31:31-34.²⁸ Even the words added in the Matthaean account -- "for the forgiveness of sins"²⁹ -- reveal that forgiveness was also one of the main features of the new covenant in Jeremiah (31:34). The Synoptists declare that the new covenant, in which

26. At this point, Joachim Jeremias appears to be correct in stating that the longer text of Luke relating to the Last Supper is probably the original one. Cf. The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, trans. Arnold Ehrhardt (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), pp. 87-106, esp. p. 106, n. 1.

27. Exodus 19:5-6; 24:4-8; 34:10. Otto A. Piper, "Unchanging Promises: Exodus in the New Testament," Interpretation, XI (1957), 19.

28. Vide supra in the section on "Inward Renewal in the Future" in "The Old Testament." Cf. C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 45.

29. It is interesting that this phrase in Matthew 26:28 has been classified as a negative expression of the idea of the new creation. Cf. G. Lindeskog, "Studien zum neutestamentlichen Schöpfungsgedanken," p. 236, n. 1.

the law is written in the heart, is established and ratified now by the blood of Jesus Christ.

It is through His blood that the law of God is written inwardly in the heart, and so it becomes the blood of the new covenant. A new order of things is established not in stone but in the hearts of men. From this one is able to see that in some aspects the new covenant and the kingdom of God are correlative ideas.³⁰ Nevertheless, the important item in the discussion at this point is that the death of Christ in the Last Supper passages is presented as the decisive act of salvation which brings about a new order of relations between God and men.³¹

The account of the institution of the Supper in Mark and Matthew concludes on an eschatological note which states:³²

Truly, I say to you, I shall not drink again of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new [*καὶνός*] in the kingdom of God. (Mark 14:25)

This verse presents the Supper to be a promise that the kingdom will be fully established and all the people of God reunited in the Messianic banquet. The word *καὶνός* is used because in the Messianic kingdom all things will be new. In this way, "new" is the mark of the

30. Vincent Taylor, The Gospel according to St. Mark (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1957), p. 546.

31. Cf. Matt. 26:28; Mark 10:45. Otto Kirn, "Regeneration," The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. S. M. Jackson (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1950), IX, 440.

32. The word *καὶνός* is a significant theological term. According to J. Behm [*καὶνός*, "T.W.N.T., III, 451], the term "ist der Inbegriff des ganz Anderen, Wunderbaren, das die Endheilszeit bringt."

transfigured creation.³³

Jesus carries the minds of the disciples forward by assuring them of the coming new order of God which will reveal the Father's saving purpose. The term, *καὶνός* in this passage refers to the new wine in the kingdom of God which is a picture of the new life in the divine kingdom.³⁴ In Matthew's parallel to this verse, the words *μεθ' ὑμῶν* (26:29) are added to show that he interpreted the Master's words as looking forward beyond death to a new fellowship between the redeemed community and its Redeemer. This is Jesus' pledge that those who receive eternal life shall gather together in a new oneness with Him at the Messianic meal. Therefore, the new covenant which was ratified by the death of Jesus Christ establishes a new order of relations—for the present and the future--between God and men.

Furthermore, the death of Christ is presented as a new, eschatological Exodus of salvation. From Luke's account, the Passion which Jesus was about to fulfil in Jerusalem would be the prelude to a new Exodus out of bondage to sin for the people of God.³⁵ The fact that

33. J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, p. 172. F. C. Grant, "The Gospel according to St. Mark" (Exegesis Commentary), I. B., VII, 876. Comp. Revelation 21:5 and *καὶ ἡ πόλις ἁγία* *πάντων* in Acts 3:21. According to C. H. Dodd ["The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ," op. cit., p. 376], Mark 14:25 shows that the final fulfilment of the kingdom of God will be a reality which transcends history so that Jesus in the age to come will drink the "wine of the new creation."

34. Gösta Lindeskog, "Förnyelse, nyskapelse, nyfödelse," Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok, VIII (1943), 28.

35. Luke 9:30-31, notice *ἐξόδος*. A. Michael Ramsay, The Resurrection of Christ (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1946), pp. 29-30. George L. Balentine, "Death of Jesus as a New Exodus," Review and Expositor, LIX (1962), p. 27. Otto A. Piper, "Unchanging Promises: Exodus in the New Testament," pp. 19-20.

the passion of Christ was shown to coincide with the Passover exhibits a paralleling of the old redemption with the new (cf. Luke 22:15). Because Jesus gave His life as a ransom "for many," it can be said in general terms--although it is not expressed as such by the Synoptists--that the cross of Christ may be thought of as the paradoxical symbol of the new creation.³⁶

Finally, the resurrection of Christ is the manifestation of new life. The episode in the last chapter of Mark (16:1-8) presents the resurrection as a thought of indescribable awe. The old is giving way to the new. The Resurrection was the coming into the world of the life of the world to come.³⁷

All of this is a part of the εὐαγγέλιον, the good news. It is a proclamation that something new is taking place (Luke 16:16). This new thing which is noised abroad is the good news that the Reign of God had become a blessed reality.³⁸

It is at this point that we see that the idea of newness leads on into the topic of the kingdom of God. Therefore, we will now examine the thought of entering the kingdom as it suggests the change which is brought about when a person becomes a follower of Jesus.

36. G. Lindeskog, "Studien zum neutestamentlichen Schöpfungsgedanken," p. 272.

37. A. Michael Ramsey, The Resurrection of Christ, p. 78.

38. J. S. Stewart, Heralds of God (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), p. 64.

ENTERING THE KINGDOM OF GOD

The dominant theme in Jesus' teaching is found in the "kingdom of God." At times Jesus taught that the kingdom of God was still in the future (Mark 14:25). Yet, on other occasions He spoke of the kingdom (Basileia) as being present in His ministry (Luke 11:20). Thus, in some way, the Father in sending His Son causes His kingdom to begin its manifestation.³⁹

Due to the Aramaic term (malkuth) which underlies the Greek, the phrase "kingdom of God" has as its primary meaning the kingship or reign of God.⁴⁰ A secondary meaning is domain. This secondary connotation comes to the surface occasionally because in the Reign of God a sphere of rule or community is unavoidably implied.⁴¹ God always has and always will rule His world, but since the coming of Jesus the Father has begun to rule in a new way. Then, at the end of this age there will be the fulfilment of the kingdom of God in reality. In one sense the kingdom of God is already being manifested in the ministry of Jesus, but in another sense God's reign is still to be established in its fulness at the End.

39. W. G. Kummel, Promise and Fulfilment, pp. 105-109.

40. J. H. Moulton and George Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Limited, 1930), p. 104. Gustaf Dalman, The Words of Jesus, pp. 91-96. However, Rudolf Otto [The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, trans. Floyd V. Filson and Bertram Lee-Woolf (New and revised edition; London: Lutterworth Press, 1951), p. 53] reminds us that "the expression kingdom of God does not cover a strictly unified conception, but rather a complex of connotations."

41. K. L. Schmidt and others, Basileia (Vol. II, Sec. III of Bible Key Words, trans. and ed. J. R. Coates and H. P. Kingdon, New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1958), p. 33.

End. ⁴²

A Transformation Is Implied.

The particular interest which this study has relating to the kingdom of God is in reference to entering the kingdom. To begin our consideration of this matter attention is focused on the fact that at times entering the kingdom of God is made the equivalent of entering life. The poetical parallelism used in Mark 9:43-47 brings out this equation of "life" with the "kingdom of God" as follows:⁴³

And if your hand causes you to sin, cut it off; it is better for you to enter life maimed than with two hands to go to hell, to the unquenchable fire. And if your foot causes you to sin, cut it off; it is better for you to enter life lame than with two feet to be thrown into hell. And if your eye causes you to sin, pluck it out; it is better for you

42. The position of "realized eschatology" is presented by C. H. Dodd [The Parables of the Kingdom (revised edition; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961)]; while, the position of "consistent eschatology" is maintained by Albert Schweitzer [The Mystery of the Kingdom of God, trans. Walter Lowrie (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950)]. In addition, there is a middle-of-the-road position which holds that the future kingdom of God is already operative in advance in the earthly ministry of Jesus. The middle-of-the-road interpretation, according to James L. Price [Interpreting the New Testament (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), pp. 240, 241], is the more widely accepted one. For a summary of the various interpretations, see W. David Stacey, "Eschatology in the Gospels," The London Quarterly and Holborn Review CLXXXV (1960), 171-175. Finally, O. Cullmann [The Kingship of Christ and the Church of the New Testament, The Early Church, pp. 105-137] suggests the distinction between the kingdom of God which is future and comes into control at the end of time, and the kingship or reign of Christ which has already begun and will continue until the Son surrenders all authority to God the Father.

43. The italics are mine. The parallel passage is Matthew 18:8-9. Another passage in which "life" appears to be a synonym for the "kingdom of God" is found in Matthew 7:14. Cf. Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, p. 92.

to enter the kingdom of God with one eye than with two eyes to be thrown into hell; . . .

Jesus presents the importance of sacrificing anything which might prevent a person from entering the kingdom of God. In this passage, men are faced with the alternative of life or spiritual ruin. Moreover, the expression "entering into life" is used synonymously with "entering the kingdom of God."

A similar thought is presented in the situation of the rich young ruler in Mark 10:17-31 (and parallels). The young man asks, "Good Teacher, what must I do to inherit eternal life?" And during the course of His conversation with the man, Jesus commands him to renounce all and attach himself to Jesus as a disciple, meaning that the young man should do this during his present life. When the young man refused the command, Jesus observes:

'How hard it will be for those who have riches to enter the kingdom of God!' And the disciples were amazed at his words. But Jesus said to them again, 'Children, how hard it is to enter the kingdom of God!' (Mark 10:23-24)

After expressing how difficult it was to enter the kingdom of God, the disciples inquire, "Then who can be saved?" (10:26). To this query Jesus answers, "With men it is impossible, but not with God; for all things are possible with God" (10:27).

These two passages in Mark (9:43-47; 10:17-31) can be interpreted with a present or a future meaning. On the one hand, these passages could be construed as referring strictly to the future entry into the kingdom when it comes at the end of time, but not to a present possibility. On the other hand, an interpreter could lean too far in the opposite direction and stress that these passages suggest the present opportunity of entering the kingdom as being the same thing with entering into

eternal life in the Johannine sense. However, the best appraisal of these passages would probably understand them as presenting both present and future connotations.

The comments of Professor T. W. Manson clearly set forth the future and present implications of the two passages:⁴⁴

Entrance into the Kingdom in these verses [Mk. 9:43-48] is no doubt thought of as entrance into a state of future blessedness, but the sharing of that future bliss is conditional upon entrance into the Kingdom in the present. The things which exclude people from the joys to come do so by preventing them from entering the Kingdom in its present manifestation. This comes out clearly in the case of the rich young ruler (Mk. 10:17-31) who asks 'what must I do to inherit eternal life'--in the future. The final answer of Jesus is a command to sacrifice all, and join the company of disciples--in the present. When this demand is rejected the comment of Jesus is to the effect that wealth is a powerful hindrance to entering the Kingdom, where the reference is both to the present service and the future reward.

From this explanation one is reminded that the tension between the "already fulfilled" and the "not yet consummated" is evident in the concepts of "life" and "kingdom." The term "life" (ζωή) used in Mark 9:43, 45; 10:17, 30 means "the higher life of the soul in fellowship with God."⁴⁵

Even though one may consider Mark's thought of the kingdom as mainly eschatological, chapters nine and ten of Mark may still be understood as having implied significance for the present.⁴⁶ This being so the designation "life" (9:43, 45; 10:17), which is made synonymous with the "kingdom of God" (9:45, 10:24), would have some implication for the present. And this is at least a beginning in the direction of Johannine

⁴⁴. The Teaching of Jesus, p. 294, n. 4.

⁴⁵. Vincent Taylor, The Gospel according to St. Mark, p. 411.

⁴⁶. T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, pp. 205-207. V. Taylor, The Gospel according to St. Mark, pp. 411 f., 425, 431.

thought of eternal life as a present possession.⁴⁷

From the fact that the young man refuses the invitation to discipleship (10:21b) and that Jesus immediately begins to talk about the difficulty of entering the kingdom of God, there is an equation between becoming a disciple of Jesus and entering the kingdom.⁴⁸ The expression "to be saved" in Mark 10:26 is understood as signifying the same thing as entrance into the kingdom (10:25). The parallelism of "entering life" and "entering the kingdom" in chapter nine and the sequence of thought in chapter ten relating to inheriting eternal life (vs. 17), entering the kingdom (vs. 23.) and being saved (vs. 26) appears to show that the term "life" in these two passages is used as an equivalent of salvation.⁴⁹ Since being saved is made possible only by God, there is an emphasis here upon divine power.

The use of the future tenses in Mark 9 and 10 suggests that the primary reference is to entrance into the consummated kingdom. However, the conditions upon which entrance can be made are thought of as being fulfilled in the present. There must be a willingness to sacrifice any possession that might be a hindrance or stumbling block

⁴⁷. Alan Richardson, "Kingdom of God," A Theological Word Book of the Bible, p. 121, and An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, p. 74. However, according to J. Burnier ["Life: N. T.," A Companion to the Bible, ed. J.-J. von Allmen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 234-237], Mark does not reach the richer conception found in John.

⁴⁸. Cf. A. M. Hunter, The Work and Words of Jesus, p. 78. H. Roux, "Kingdom," A Companion to the Bible, ed. J.-J. von Allmen, p. 219.

⁴⁹. G. C. Martin, "Life and Death," A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings, III, 116. A. M. Hunter, The Work and Words of Jesus, p. 77.

(Mark 9:45; 10:23-25). Above all there must be a readiness to receive the kingdom in a spirit of childlike trust and humility (Mark 10:15).

In these two passages in Mark the term "kingdom" not only means the reign of God, but also includes the domain or community over which His kingship is exercised.⁵⁰ Thus the phrase "to enter into life," which is synonymous with "to enter the kingdom of God" (9:45, 47), indirectly refers to the kind of life which is gained when one is admitted into the basileia.⁵¹ This life is characterized by God's ruling in human experience, which is to say that one has God as Father and begins to life as His son.

By proclaiming that the kingdom of God had come upon men (Luke 11:20), Jesus showed that what had been only a distant hope was made to be a thing of present experience.⁵² The coming of Jesus and His mighty works were signs that the sovereign power of God has come into effective operation in history. The kingdom of God has come upon men, not because men merit this privilege, but because of an act of God's grace (Luke 12:32). However, only those who choose to respond to God's grace by repentance and faith will be permitted to enter the kingdom of God (Mark 1:15; 10:15).

All of this becomes more understandable when one sees that the Synoptic Gospels teach that the future kingdom has penetrated into the

50. R. Newton Flew, Jesus and His Church (second edition; London: The Epworth Press, 1951), pp. 24-25, 57.

51. Philip Carrington, According to Mark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), p. 208, also pp. 214-216.

52. C. H. Dodd, "The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ," p. 376. Cf. Matthew 5:3 and Luke 6:20.

present and has become effective redemptively upon men. Jesus said,
 "... the kingdom of God is among you."⁵³ According to Rudolf Otto,
 this means:⁵⁴

... the transcendent kingdom is already throwing its mysterious shadows ahead; it is there working secretly and quietly as a secret power in the germinating faith of the first community; it renews and transforms, and gives "peace and joy in the Holy Spirit."

The kingdom of God as power already at work in the world is set forth in the parables. Such parables as the Seed Growing Secretly (Mark 4:26-29), the Mustard-Seed (Mark 4:30-32 and parallels), and the Leaven (Matt. 13:33; Luke 13:20-21) begin with some form of words as "The kingdom of God is like" These parables and others⁵⁵ refer to the fact that the kingdom is already present on earth in its beginnings. Jesus told the parables of the kingdom of God in order that those who heard them might become aware that something different was now taking place among men by pure divine miracle. In opening their eyes to see this miracle which was taking place, Jesus wanted those who heard Him to experience this miracle in their own lives.⁵⁶ In order to experience this marvelous happening they had to "enter the kingdom" and in doing this the saving

53. Luke 17:21. E. T. by The New English Bible: New Testament (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 132. Hereinafter referred to as N.E.B.

54. The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, p. 73, n. 2.

55. C. H. Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom, pp. 19-20, see further pp. 21-84. Even the Parables of the Hidden Treasure and of the Pearl (Matt. 13:44-46), according to Dodd (p. 32, n. 1) are ways of expressing the fact that the kingdom of God is realized in experience.

56. Rudolf Otto, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, p. 93.

sphere of power would become effective in their lives. Therefore, it is implied that those who enter the kingdom will be renewed and transformed. And it is precisely at this point where the idea of entering the kingdom touches by implication upon the concept of regeneration.

Up to now there has been a consideration of those passages which imply the fact that there is a transformation when one enters the kingdom of God. However, there is one passage which will be singled out for special treatment. It speaks of entering the kingdom and its importance is heightened because its terminology appears to directly suggest the idea of regeneration.

A Passage Pointing Directly toward Regeneration

The passage in question is Matthew 18:3. Here Jesus placed a child in the midst of His disciples and said:⁵⁷

Truly, I say to you, unless you turn and become like children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven. (Matthew 18:3)

In the clause ἐὰν μὴ στραφῇτε καὶ γένησθε ὡς τὰ παῖδια the verb στρέφειν may be understood in one of two ways. First, it can mean "to be converted" in which case the corresponding Greek substantive is μετένοια.⁵⁸ From this

57. T. W. Manson [The Teaching of Jesus, p. 38] declares that we can accept the authenticity of this passage with a good deal of confidence. According to Professor Allan Barr [A Diagram of Synoptic Relationships (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1957) at Matt. 18:3], there is a close correspondence between Matthew 18:3 and Mark 10:15. This is pertinent because J. H. Bernard [A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John, ed. A. H. McNeile (I.C.C., Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928), I, 102] asserts that John 3:3 is "the Johannine counterpart of Mark 10:15."

58. A. H. McNeile, The Gospel according to St. Matthew, p. 260.

point of view, the term has reference to repentance. On the other hand, the word rarely has the meaning of "to be converted" (in the New Testament only in John 12:40). The more usual word for "to be converted" is

ἐπιστρέφειν . Hence, the case for the meaning of "to be converted" in Matthew 18:3 does not appear to be strong.

A second, and more likely, approach can be taken concerning the meaning of the word στρέφειν in this verse. This verb could be used here as a rendering for a Semitic auxiliary verb. Consequently, the word would be equal to shub or tubh which is the Hebrew and Aramaic manner of expressing the idea of re, and would be translated by adding "again" to the main verb.⁵⁹ The translation for this clause which seems to have the stronger substantiation is "unless you become again like children."

At this point, an examination should be made concerning the meaning of becoming again like children. The three principal interpretations of this passage have been summarized by Joachim Jeremias.⁶⁰ First, there is the analogy to the conversion of a Gentile to Judaism.⁶¹ After the threefold rite consisting of circumcision, immersion in water and the presentation of an offering in the temple, the proselyte is compared to a "new-born child." The proselyte is said to be a "new-born child"

59. Matthew Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (second edition; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 253. Cf. A. B. Bruce, "The Synoptic Gospels," The Expositor's Greek Testament, I, 236.

60. The Parables of Jesus, trans. S. H. Hooke (London: S.C.M. Press, Ltd., 1954), pp. 133 f.

61. Vide supra in the section on "Proselytes" in "Rabbinic Judaism," Chapter II.

because in conversion God had forgiven him his sins. In this case, Matthew 18:3 could signify that if a person is not cleansed through God's forgiveness like a new-born child, he will not be permitted to enter the kingdom of God.⁶²

The second interpretation is suggested by Matthew's context. In Matthew 18:4 the words "whosoever humbles himself" may have been intended as an explanation of the preceding phrase "to become again like children." To humble oneself means to confess one's guilt in self-abasement before God.⁶³ This would make "to become again like children" mean to become little again before God. However, due to the fact that Matthew 18:4 has no parallel in Mark (10:15 f.) or Luke (18:17 f.), it appears that verse three was originally transmitted as a separate saying while verse four may have been added in a later stage of the tradition.⁶⁴ Accordingly, the second interpretation which hinges on verse four is not completely satisfactory.

A third interpretation seems necessary to find the key which opens up a better understanding of "to become again like children." This interpretation has reference to the necessity of being able to say "Abba, Father" in order to enter the kingdom of God. Jesus addressed God as Abba (Mark 14:36), but the pious Jew would not use Abba for God because

62. Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., I, 773-774.

63. Adolf Schlatter, Der Evangelist Matthäus, p. 545.

64. G. Lindeskog, "Studien zum neutestamentlichen Schöpfungsgedanken," p. 247.

the terminology was too familiar to refer to the Almighty.⁶⁵ The term Abba was an everyday family word used by a young child to his earthly father but it was not used as an address to God. Nevertheless, Jesus used this familiar form and probably taught his disciples to do the same (Luke 11:2). This seems to reveal a better interpretation of Matthew 18:3.⁶⁶ Those who "become again like children" are the ones who can say Abba in a childlike, trustful and intimate way. And it follows that one who has not learned to say Abba cannot enter the kingdom of God.⁶⁷

Therefore, the initial step in the new life is learning how to call God Abba with childlike confidence and faith.

It must be frankly admitted that Jesus does not use the precise terminology of regeneration in this passage. He probably had in mind mainly the childlike simplicity, receptiveness and trustfulness which is necessary to begin the new life. In fact, Clement of Alexandris (c. 150-215 A. D.) probably came close to the meaning of Jesus when he interpreted the verse by writing:⁶⁸

Rightly, then, are those called children who know Him who is God alone as their Father, who are simple, and infants, and guileless, who are lovers of the horns of the unicorns. [Deut. 33:17]

To those, therefore, that have made progress in the word, He has proclaimed this utterance, bidding them dismiss anxious care of the things of this world, and exhorting them to adhere to the Father alone, in imitation of children. (Paedagogus I, 5, 17, 1-3.)

65. T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, p. 331.

66. Ibid. A. M. Hunter, Introducing New Testament Theology (London: S.C.M. Press, 1957), p. 33.

67. G. Dalman, The Words of Jesus, p. 116.

68. E. T. in The Instructor (Vol. I of The Writings of Clement of Alexandria, trans. William Wilson, Ante-Nicene Christian Library; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1867), pp. 125 f. (Insertion mine.)

On the other hand, this statement recorded by Matthew, like so many of the words of Jesus, is capable of extensive further interpretation. Therefore, Adolf von Harnack⁶⁹ may be correct in stating that what in posterity in Christianity has been attested of regeneration has had its seed beginning point in this saying.

Since the re-becoming like children means learning to call God Abba, the passage may be further interpreted with this thought in mind. It is implied that the ones who come to know God as Father with a child's simplicity and unpretentiousness will enter the kingdom of heaven. And entering the kingdom of heaven here has the same meaning as entering "into life" in Matthew 18:8.⁷⁰ The ones holding to the Father alone will be made as His children. The first step, according to A. H. M'Neile,⁷¹ towards $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \omega\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\ \pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ is $\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota\ \acute{\iota}\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$ (John 3:3). The Matthaean passage, therefore, presents Jesus as demanding a kind of moral and religious regeneration.⁷²

Jesus alludes to the fact that the ones who become again like children are the ones who receive a new beginning by God's grace. Moreover, the passage intimates that participation in the kingdom necessitates as its condition the new disposition.

From this discussion, it appears that Matthew 18:3 implies the idea of newness, especially when it alludes to a change wrought in man's

69. "Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und verwandter Erlebnisse in der Ältesten Kirche," Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, Vol. XLII, Part III, (1918), p. 98.

70. G. Dalman, loc. cit.

71. The Gospel according to St. Matthew, p. 260. Cf. W. F. Slater, St. Matthew (The Century Bible); Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1901), p. 242.

72. C. G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels, II, 247.

nature. Thus, it states the need for regeneration. In order to enter the kingdom of heaven, it is necessary to make a new beginning. It is interesting that Clement of Alexandria used ἀναγεννησθαι in a sentence which clearly reflects the wording of Matthew 18:3. In Protrepticus (IX, 82, 4) he wrote:⁷³

'For if you become not again as little children, and be born again', [ἀναγεννησθαι] as saith the Scripture, you shall not receive the truly existent Father, 'nor shall you enter into the kingdom of heaven'.

Furthermore, Origen (185-254 A. D.) suggested that Matthew 18:3 was a direct antecedent of the Johannine doctrine of regeneration.⁷⁴

When several matters are taken into consideration, one may see that there is a possible relationship between this verse in the Matthaean account and John 3:3-8. The "kingdom of heaven" used in Matthew 18:3 is the same as the "kingdom of God." The Fourth Gospel does not refer to the "kingdom of God" anywhere except in 3:3-5. Here the words "he cannot see the kingdom of God" in John 3:3 have the same meaning as "he cannot enter the kingdom of God" in 3:5. Thus, John 3:3 declares in essence that unless one is born anew he cannot enter the kingdom of God. This is not a great deal different from Matthew 18:3 which asserts that unless you become

73. E. T. in Exhortation to the Heathen (Vol. I of The Writings of Clement of Alexandria, trans. William Wilson, op. cit.), p. 80. Cf. J. Dey, op. cit., p. 5. The Greek text is found in Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. (Insertion mine.)

74. The Commentary of Origen on St. John's Gospel, ed. A. E. Brooke (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1896), II, 249 (Fragment 35). Cf. C. H. Dodd, I.F.G., p. 304. Also T. H. Robinson [The Gospel of Matthew (M.N.T.C.; New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1927), p. 152] acknowledges: "... the saying [Matt. 18:3] means much the same as the Johannine 'Ye must be born again'."

again (or re-become) like children, you will not be allowed to enter the kingdom of God. John's use of the designation "kingdom of God" only in 3:3-5 and the kinship of the ideas with Matthew 18:3 are considered by Wilbert F. Howard⁷⁵ to be strong enough reasons for linking John 3:3-5 with Matthew 18:3. Even L. E. Elliott-Binns⁷⁶ admits that Matthew 18:3 has a striking resemblance verbally to John 3:3. Thus, admission of the convert into the kingdom of God indirectly suggests a regenerating process which makes him in reality a new-born child of God.

It apparently cannot be proved that Matthew 18:3 is a direct antecedent of the Johannine doctrine of regeneration; however, John 3:3-5 may be a development of Matthew 18:3.⁷⁷ One thing is sure: Matthew 18:3 is the place in the Synoptic Gospels where Jesus most clearly teaches the meaning of individual regeneration.⁷⁸

From this discussion of entering the kingdom, there are two important aspects to notice. One aspect is that the Synoptic Gospels present enough material for one to understand that the idea of entering the kingdom definitely implies a transformation. Accordingly, it is implicitly set forth that those entering the kingdom are thereby renewed. Second, the saying in Matthew 18:3 about re-becoming as little children in order to enter the kingdom explicitly makes use of terminology which

75. "The Gospel according to St. John" (Exegesis Commentary), I. B., VIII, 505.

76. N.T.S., III (1957), p. 157.

77. James Moffatt, The Theology of the Gospels (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), p. 195, n. 1.

78. A. Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, p. 36.

is strikingly similar to John 3:3. Taking both the implied idea of those entering the kingdom being transformed and the actual terminology about re-becoming as little children, we see how close the Synoptic Gospels come to expressing the thought of regeneration in John.

A METAPHOR OF SPIRITUAL RESURRECTION

There is one other passage in the first three Gospels which makes use of a different metaphor to express the concept of regeneration. It is found in the so-called Parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32).

The parable teaches the compassion of God the Father in welcoming the penitent sinner. In the account, when the younger son returns, the Father orders the best robe (literally, the "first robe")⁷⁹ to be put on him, a ring placed on his hand, and shoes on his feet. Then, the Father declares, ". . . let us eat and make merry; for this my son was dead, and is alive again [ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀπώστης]; he was lost, and is found" (15:23-24).

The younger son who had gone away from the father represents sinful man who has wandered away from God. The man's sensitivity to spiritual things is "dead"⁸⁰ or null because he is estranged from God by sin and selfhood. In this way, he was as good as dead as far as any real relationship to God was concerned, because the life of sin is a living death. It is possible, however, for him to be brought to life again.

79. T. W. Manson, The Sayings of Jesus (London: S.C.M. Press, Ltd., 1950), p. 289. Moreover, J. Jeremias [The Parables of Jesus, p. 104] affirms that the "investiture with the new garment is therefore a symbol of the New Age."

80. Comp. Matthew 8:21-22; Luke 9:59-60. Strack and Billerbeck, op. cit., II, 217 and I, 489.

The term ἀναζῆναι, according to R. Bultmann,⁸¹ means to become alive again or to revive again from the dead. Of course, its meaning in Luke 15:24 is expressed figuratively, of one morally and spiritually alive again.⁸² Here the figure of coming back to life again is used in synonymous parallelism with the finding of the lost sheep. Consequently, this verse seeks to set forth the fact that the son was spiritually lost and dead but that by returning to the Father he found life again and became spiritually alive. This is a presentation of the idea of spiritual renewal by use of the metaphor of resurrection.⁸³ And, as has already been stated, the metaphor of resurrection used spiritually in reference to the individual is one of the three principal figures for representing the concept of regeneration.

This passage teaches that whenever the sinner repents, God receives him gladly. The fact that the man is spiritually dead and lost moves the heart of God and "calls into action the most powerful energies of divine

81. "ἀναζῆναι," T.W.N.T., II, 875.

82. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, op. cit., p. 53. The idea of those who were spiritually "lost" being considered "dead" and yet susceptible to being brought to life again is found in the Old Testament prophets (Ezekiel 37:1-14; 33:11). Cf. William Manson, The Gospel of Luke (M.N.T.C.; New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1930), p. 180.

83. F. V. Filson, Jesus Christ The Risen Lord (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), p. 233. J. Dey, op. cit., p. 5. Cf. W. D. Chamberlain, The Meaning of Repentance (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1943), p. 37. In connection with this thought, it should be remembered that the Rabbinic literature teaches that men will be created anew at the final resurrection, and, even more important, that the Old Testament makes use of the metaphor of resurrection to describe the future resurrection of the ideal Israel. Vide supra in the sections on "The Resurrection Made Parallel to Creation in the Womb" in "Rabbinic Judaism," and the discussion concerning Ezekiel 37:1-14 in "The Concept of Return," Chapter II.

love."⁸⁴ When a man is received into a filial relationship with the heavenly Father, it can only be understood as a miracle wrought by the saving righteousness of God. By returning to the Father, the spiritually dead are raised to new life.⁸⁵ Therefore, it can be said that this is a passage which uses the metaphor of spiritual resurrection to present the concept of regeneration.

84. G. B. Stevens, The Theology of the New Testament (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), p. 96.

85. J. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, p. 105. Cf. Günther Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, p. 128.

III. CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion, it can be seen that the Synoptic Gospels definitely contain material relating to the concept of regeneration. The Synoptic accounts present two aspects of the idea of regeneration. These are the cosmic renewal at the end of the age and individual regeneration.

First, the regeneration of the world at the consummation of this age is described in Matthew 19:28. The palingenesia in this passage comes at the parousia of Christ and refers mainly to the final renovation of the world by the power of God. The principal thought behind the use of palingenesia here is found in the Hebrew prophetic idea and the Jewish apocalyptic thought concerning the future renewal of creation.

By the clause which speaks of the Twelve judging the twelve tribes, there is either a suggestion that the palingenesia will include some aspects of national restoration, or an allusion to the New Israel, the Christian ecclesia, projecting into the beginning part of the age to come. Furthermore, the passage gives a third connotation by implying the eschatological regeneration of the individual. The transformation of the world at the eschaton will include the final renewal of individuals. Since a person becomes a partaker of the final palingenesia when he receives the new life in Christ, it is also possible that the rays of the final palingenesia may reflect back to the beginning point of the initial rebirth of the individual which stands as a prerequisite for those who will experience the final regeneration. Nevertheless, Matthew 19:28 refers mainly to the cosmic renovation at the End, but also includes

a reference to the restoration of the nation (or the New Israel), and implies the final regeneration of the individual.

The second part of this chapter deals with passages which suggest individual regeneration here and now. First, the concept of newness in the Synoptic Gospels indicates some similarity in certain of its aspects with the idea of regeneration. According to Luke, the coming of Jesus Christ into the world was reflected upon as the inauguration of the new creation. From this the deduction presents itself that it is possible to become a part of the new creation. In connection with the Son of man concept, the Synoptists present Jesus as being the second Adam who came to create the new humanity. Actually, Jesus' awareness of Himself as the Messiah insinuates re-creation. He intended to create the corporate Son of man. For this reason, a great deal of Jesus' teaching implicitly points in the direction of the birth of a new humanity.

Jesus is the mediator through whom a new beginning spiritually is made possible for men. Those who become disciples of Jesus are made sons of the heavenly Father. The ones who in simple trust hear and accept the gospel receive the gift of sonship to God. Through the miracles of Jesus it is seen that the power of God is manifested in Jesus. This power can have an effect on the believer here and now in conquering the power of evil and death.

In the Synoptic institution of the Lord's Supper, Jesus is presented as the one who brings about the new covenant. Therefore, He is the second Moses in the sense that He will lead His people to the promised goal of salvation.¹ The new covenant in Jeremiah has become a

1. Otto A. Piper, op. cit., Interpretation, XI, 18.

reality. In the words of the Institution, the death of Christ not only makes possible a new fellowship between God and man here and now, but also the assurance that the new people of God will participate in the Messianic banquet of the age to come. The crucifixion of Christ opens up the new Exodus of salvation, while His resurrection brings about the coming of an entirely new order in which the disciples will share. From this, the notion of newness is seen to have a relationship to the idea of a person becoming another man spiritually as taught in the first three Gospels.

A more definite suggestion about the change which is brought about when one becomes a follower of Christ is introduced in the thought of entering the kingdom. From the ninth and tenth chapters of Mark "entering the kingdom" appears to be made at least partially synonymous with three other expressions: entering life, being saved, and becoming a disciple of Jesus. This being so, entering the kingdom can be said in one sense to refer to a matter of present experience. This signifies that entering the kingdom means a higher life of fellowship with God. It is a life in which God rules. It becomes effective through God's grace, but man must respond by repentance and faith before he is permitted to enter the kingdom.

The parables concerning the kingdom show that the kingdom of God is a power already effective in the world. It is also implicitly set forth that those who enter the kingdom are renewed and transformed. When men receive the kingdom, God produces the divine reign in their hearts. This inference demonstrates the thought of entering the kingdom to be very near the concept of regeneration.

Furthermore, one passage relating to entering the kingdom is set apart for special consideration because its terminology more explicitly suggests the concept of regeneration. This passage, Matthew 18:3, can

be translated either "unless you turn and become like children . . ." or "unless you re-become like children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven." In the former translation the passage may suggest both repentance and regeneration.² The latter translation has strong support from the point of view of the Aramaic background of the Gospels. Becoming again like children probably means that only those who can say Abba in a childlike, trustful and intimate way are permitted to enter the kingdom of God.

Although Jesus does not use the exact terminology of regeneration here, the terms of this passage appear to point forward to regeneration, and, as in many of the sayings of Jesus, they are capable of further interpretation. To enter the kingdom of God implies that a change has been wrought in man's nature. The ones who come to know God as Father with a child's simplicity will enter the kingdom of heaven. To come to know God as Abba is to be made His child. And to enter the kingdom of God is to become a child of God. In this way, to come to know God as Abba and thereby to enter into the kingdom of God means much the same as to be born again in the Johannine idiom. The Matthaean passage, therefore, presents Jesus as demanding a moral and regeneration.

A final passage is discussed because it presents the concept of regeneration by using the figure of spiritual resurrection. This figure is found in the Parable of the Prodigal Son. In Luke 15:24, the younger son was spiritually lost and dead, but by returning to the Father he found

2. Millar Burrows, An Outline of Biblical Theology, p. 235, n. 8.

life again and became spiritually alive. This passage sets forth in a lucid manner the idea of individual regeneration by using the metaphor of resurrection. In other words, by returning to God the spiritually dead are raised to new life. It is also interesting to notice that this figure of resurrection is emphasized by Paul in Romans 6, Colossians 2 and Ephesians 2.³ This exhibits a connection of thought between the two areas of the New Testament.

One matter is of key significance in the over-all view of this chapter. This significant feature is that the Synoptic Gospels either imply or directly state the three basic metaphors which make up the concept of regeneration in the entire New Testament. First, our discussion of newness points out that the first three Gospels allude to the idea of the new creation on several occasions. Second, the actual term palingenesia was employed to speak of the final rebirth of the world. The last idea is presented in the figure of spiritual resurrection. Hence, one is able to affirm that the Synoptic Gospels suggest the three basic metaphors of regeneration: new creation, rebirth, and resurrection. These ideas are enlarged upon in other books of the New Testament.

From this entire chapter, it is evident that the Synoptic Gospels definitely present the idea of regeneration in its cosmic and individual significance. Certainly, the thoughts of these passages had an influence upon other New Testament writers. It may be, as C. H. Dodd⁴ suggests, that the eschatological regeneration of the world in Matthew 19:28 lies

3. Vide infra in "Spiritual Resurrection," Chapter IV.

4. I.F.G., p. 304.

behind the Johannine concept of regeneration. On the other hand, the idea of individual regeneration in Matthew 18:3 may have been--as claimed by Adolf von Harnack⁵--the seed beginning point of the primitive Christian teaching concerning regeneration. In either case, it can be affirmed that the Synoptic Gospels present the beginning of the development of the concept of regeneration in the New Testament. For the further growth of this Christian concept we must look to other areas of the New Testament.

5. "Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und verwandter Erlebnisse in der Ältesten Kirche," p. 98.

CHAPTER IV

PAULINE AND DEUTERO-PAULINE LITERATURE

PAULINE AND DEUTERO-PAULINE LITERATURE¹

Introduction

The Pauline doctrine of regeneration is not completely isolated and set apart from all other New Testament writings. It has a connection, for example, with the Synoptic teaching. The Synoptic record presents the idea of regeneration by speaking of the sinful life as death and the recovery from it as entrance into life.² In other words, the figure of spiritual resurrection is used there to set forth the idea of regeneration. This same figure is used by Paul in a more elaborate fashion (Romans 6).

1. Since there are probably genuine Pauline elements in the Pastorals, it appears possible to designate this group of epistles as "Deutero-Pauline Literature." Some authors who hold that the Pastorals contain genuine Pauline elements are: B. S. Easton [The Pastoral Epistles (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947)], P. N. Harrison [The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles (London: Oxford University Press, 1921)], E. F. Scott [The Pastoral Epistles (M.N.T.C.; New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, n.d.)], and William Barclay [The Letters to Timothy, Titus and Philemon (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960)]. Scholars who defend the Pauline authorship of the Pastorals are: Walter Lock (A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles (I.C.C.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924)], and R. St. John Parry [The Pastoral Epistles (Cambridge: University Press, 1920)]. The present writer accepts the usual epistles of Paul as genuine, except the Pastorals and Hebrews. As the debate still continues concerning the authenticity of the Epistles to the Colossians and to the Ephesians, see C. L. Mitton, The Epistle to the Ephesians (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1951), pp. 7-40.

2. Luke 15:24, Matthew 8:22.

Another connection with the synoptic teaching is seen in the fact that the actual term palingenesia is employed both in Matthew 19:28 and in the Deutero-Pauline passage of Titus 3:5. These ideas suggest a connection and at least some coherence in the concept of regeneration in different sections of the New Testament.

Of course, Paul has his own particular approach, because his presentation reflects his experience of Jesus Christ on the Damascus Road which effected a renovation of his inner life.³ Paul's theology is rooted in his own experience of being a new creation in Christ; all his theology is rooted in this. It is safe to say that Paul's experience on the road to Damascus was not the result of logical reasoning. For Paul the Damascus Road experience was a confrontation with the living Christ, a confrontation that put to death his old life, his old self, his old system and brought a new person into existence. Just as rational thought did not bring this change about so in a sense rational thought was not able to express it completely. His experience was greater than his ability to express it in logical terms. Thus it is difficult--almost impossible--to systematize the thought of Paul. The best thing to do in order to get to the heart of Paul is to begin, as Professor James S. Stewart says, with a "man in Christ."⁴

Since Paul's experience impressed him so startlingly and profoundly, there are some who would say that it could not have suggested to him anything so natural as being born.⁵ This is one reason, according to them, that Paul does not use the Greek terms παλιγγενεσία

3. J. V. Bartlet, "Regeneration," op. cit., IV, 218.

4. A Man in Christ, pp. 3, 147 ff.

5. Albert Schweitzer, Paul and His Interpreters, pp. 190-191. James

and ἀναγεννάω

. It is true that the exact terms presenting the figure of re-birth are not found in the genuine Pauline Epistles.⁶ However, Paul does approach the figure of birth implicitly by the use of other expressions which will be discussed later. While he does not make use of the Johannine vocabulary to express his thought concerning regeneration, he does use some very forceful terms to describe the entry into the Christian state of salvation as a new beginning of life. The Apostle presents the thought of a renewal of life by faith in Christ. In place of the Johannine vocabulary, Paul describes the change in a person's life with a variety of terms and phrases, the most prominent of which are the new creation and the spiritual resurrection.⁷

The Pauline terms which have some relation to regeneration will be grouped according to metaphors and discussed in the sections of this chapter. There will be a section dealing with the thoughts of new life and spiritual resurrection. A second section will discuss the idea of the new creation. Another subdivision will set forth the notion of adoption. Then, because Paul makes use of some particular forms of expression, their relationship to regeneration will be considered. Finally, the Deutero-Pauline passage of Titus 3:5 will be studied in a section to itself.

Denney, "Regeneration," op. cit., II, 486.

6. L. E. Elliott-Binns, "James I. 18: Creation or Redemption?", p. 156. A Schweitzer, Paul and His Interpreters, pp. 190 f., 221.

7. Here Paul's Jewish heritage comes to the fore because both the Old Testament and the Rabbinic literature make use of the metaphors of resurrection and new creation to express the thought of regeneration. Cf. Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., II, 420 ff. Otto Kirn, "Regeneration," op. cit., IX, 440.

I. NEW LIFE AND SPIRITUAL RESURRECTION

One aspect of Pauline soteriology is seen in his teaching concerning new life. In addition, the idea of new life carries over into the thought of being resurrected to walk in newness of life. For this reason these thoughts will be grouped in this section.

NEW LIFE

In Paul's view becoming a Christian means passing over from an old life to a new life. In other words, there is a concept of life in the New Testament which goes beyond the ordinary meaning of existence or physical life. Both the resurrection of Jesus and the gift of the Holy Spirit effected a far-reaching change in the understanding of life for New Testament writers. By faith in Christ it was possible for a person to begin living a different life. The old life and the new life were quite separate, having different characteristics and even opposed to one another.

Sometimes the new life is referred to by use of the designation "eternal life" (ζωὴ αἰώνιος). For example, the Apostle observes in Galatians 6:8: "For he who sows to his own flesh will from the flesh reap corruption; but he who sows to the Spirit will from the Spirit reap eternal life."¹ Though Paul makes relatively little use of this phrase, he presupposes in every epistle the salvation for which this phrase stands.² Accordingly, Paul uses the term "life" (ζωή)

1. Paul uses the expression "eternal life" four other times: Romans 2:7; 5:21; 6:22, 23.

2. A. M. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, p. 102. Cf. J. S. Clemens, "Life," Dictionary of the Bible, eds. James Hastings and others (one-volume edition; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939), p. 547.

unqualified as containing all the implications of "eternal life."

Illustrations of the use of "life" in the absolute sense as expressing the highest possible life are fairly common in the Pauline epistles.

Paul says:³

We are . . . always carrying in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our bodies. For while we live we are always being given up to death for Jesus' sake, so that the life of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh. So death is at work in us, but life in you. (II Cor. 4:11 f.)

This passage implies that Christ gives "life."⁴ The verb "to live"

(ζῆν) is also used to describe the supernatural life of the child of God. This is seen in his words: "For I through the law died to the law, that I might live to God."⁵ Furthermore, the descriptions of "life in Christ" or life "in the Spirit" (Romans 8:2, 9) are just the Apostle's expression of what John calls "eternal life."

The new life which is given to the Christian is such a fullness of life that this type of life alone deserves the name of life. When it is described as life eternal, this adjective refers not so much to the infinite duration of this life but to its connection with the time of salvation in which it is to break forth in fulfillment.⁶ It is the life

3. II Corinthians 4:11-12. Other examples are Romans 5:11¹⁰; 6:4; 8:10; II Corinthians 2:16; 4:10, and compare Philippians 2:16.

4. Cf. R. H. Strachan, The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (N.Y.T.C.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935), p. 95.

5. Galatians 2:19. Similar usage is found also in Romans 6:11, 13; Galatians 2:20; 5:25, and Philippians 1:21.

6. Cf. Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the New Testament, pp. 71 f.

of the age to come. In comparison with this new life, the present earthly existence of men steeped in sin is nothing but death (Col. 2:13).

In fact, this latter thought is emphasized by Paul in his contrast of Adam and Christ. According to the Apostle's reasoning, Adam is the bringer of death and Christ is the bringer of life.⁷ In Romans 5:1-11 Paul presents life as anticipated in hope; whereas, in 5:13 ff. he describes it as something already procured by Christ. According to Romans 5:18 "life" is both the immediate and ultimate outcome of the condition into which the Christian enters when he is declared righteous.⁸ In this way, salvation through Christ is set forth through the concept of life (ζωή). The grace which God gives through Jesus Christ is "eternal life." The guarantee, moreover, that "eternal life" can be given is seen in the resurrection of Christ (Rom. 6:9-11). Therefore, the contrast between Christ and Adam is completely opposite because it was Adam who brought death into the world, while it was Christ who brought the resurrection through which men may be made alive (I Cor. 15:21-22).

That Jesus gives life is seen in another distinction which is made between Adam and Christ. In I Corinthians 15:45 Adam is said to be a ψυχὴ ζῶσα, (an "animate being") while Christ is a πνεῦμα ζωοποιόν.⁹ Being a ψυχὴ ζῶσα

7. R. Bultmann, "Adam and Christ according to Romans 5," Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation, eds. W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1962), pp. 151-154.

8. W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (I.C.C., fifth edition; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1945), p. 142.

9. Vide A.R.C. Leaney, "The Doctrine of Man in I Corinthians," S.J.T., XV (1962), 395. Compare also Genesis 2:7, 19 and Romans 8:2, 10.

does not mean that Adam has a share in "eternal life," but it refers to the fact that he is a mortal man who has the kind of life which is characteristic of this perishable world. Conversely, Christ is a "life-giving spirit." This is an important item for understanding the Pauline point of view. The thought at this point centers around $\piνεῦμα$. The life which Christ gives is the divine, eternal, and imperishable life.¹⁰ At the same time, it may be contrasted with the visual, material existence which is dominated by sin and death.

Since the Lord is the risen Jesus, who now has a "spiritual body" and has become a "life-giving spirit," He and the Spirit are one in certain aspects of their function--although they are not fully identified with one another--and they share in the guidance of the believers.¹¹ The "Lord is the Spirit" (II Cor. 3:17) in the sense that the living Christ can be with His people everywhere and can effect life-changing results. The Spirit and the new life also go together because God ". . . has qualified us to be ministers of a new covenant, not in a written code but in the Spirit; for the written code kills, but the Spirit gives life" (II Cor. 3:6). From what has already been said it is evident that God through Christ and through the Spirit is the source of this new life.¹²

10. G. Lindeskog, "Förnyelse, nyskapelse, nyfödelse," p. 15.

11. Floyd V. Filson, "The Second Epistle to the Corinthians" (Exegesis Section), I. B., X, 311 f.

12. Romans 4:17. In I Corinthians 15:22, 45, Christ is described as the life-giving one, while in Romans 8:2, 10 f. and II Corinthians 3:6 the Spirit is the life-giver. It does not matter whether it is Christ or the Spirit who is described as the life-giving one, the work is that of God Himself. A. Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, p. 72, n. 1. Cf. W. F. Arnt and F. W. Gingrich, op. cit., p. 341. J. Burnier, op. cit., p. 235. F. J. Taylor, "Life, Live, Living," A Theological Word Book of the Bible, p. 128.

This life is given by a creative act of God.

On the other hand, man appropriates the benefits of salvation by believing in the saving act of God in Jesus Christ (Rom. 10:9). God has prepared the perfect sacrifice in Jesus Christ and the means whereby man avails himself of this sacrifice is faith (Rom. 3:25; 5:1; Gal. 3:23-26). This faith involves repentance from sin, trust in the God-prepared sacrifice as the means by which man is cleansed from sin, and surrender to the lordship of Jesus Christ.¹³ Faith is the condition on man's side for receiving salvation. Therefore, one who believes will enjoy eternal life.

Of course, the question that comes to mind is when is this to take place. Concerning this point, Paul expressed the fact that the new life was possible now as well as in the future.¹⁴ To the Apostle, Christ is in the Christian (Gal. 2:20). And to "live according to the Spirit" (Rom. 8:5) is to belong to the new community of faith where God dwells as the Spirit. All of this means that a drastic change takes place in the life of the believer who knows that he is sharing--and will one day more fully share--in the risen life of his Lord. He sees things differently and he lives differently, too. He takes hold of the eternal life to which he has been called and to some extent he participates in it here and now.

Although "to live is Christ," it is still "to be life in the flesh" (Phil. 1:21-22) which awaits the final transformation that must take place

13. E. D. Burton, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians (I.C.C.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921), pp. 475-485.

14. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (1948), p. 177. A. M. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, p. 102. Cf. Edward W. Ohrenstein, "Immortality in the New Testament," Encounter, Vol. 22 (1961), pp. 28-36.

if the general resurrection occurs before their death.¹⁵ Actually, the presence of the Spirit in the heart of the faithful is only the "first fruits" and the "guarantee" of that fullness of life which shall be the portion of the believers.¹⁶ The present gift of life finds its fulfillment at the second coming of Christ.

One might say that these matters are just conjectures were it not for the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead by which the imperishable life has been disclosed.¹⁷ The present possession of the new life is made possible through the ministry, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Moreover, the resurrection of Christ is the beginning of a work which will embrace all men who become part of the Body of Christ: ". . . in Christ shall all be made alive. But each in his own order: Christ the first fruits, then at his coming those who belong to Christ."¹⁸ For this reason, Christ is the One who walks at the head of the procession of mankind to lead those who believe to eternal life. He is "the first-born from the dead" (Col. 1:18) who is destined to be followed by "many brethren" (Rom. 8:29) who will receive the new life.

15. I Corinthians 15:50-57, I Thessalonians 4:13-18.

16. Romans 8:23, II Corinthians 1:22, 5:5.

17. Compare Romans 10:9; I Corinthians 15:3 ff.; also II Timothy 1:10.

18. I Corinthians 15:22-23. James Moffatt [The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (M.N.T.C.; New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, n.d.), p. 245] declares: "There is no clear indication, either here [I Cor. 15:21-22] or in what follows, that Paul contemplated a final redemption of the race, as his language might suggest upon the surface. Likewise, Clarence T. Craig, "The First Epistle to the Corinthians" (Exegesis Commentary), I. B., I, 235.

SPIRITUAL RESURRECTION

Paul's epistles present the thought of a moral and spiritual resurrection for the believer in his earthly existence. The connection noted in the previous discussion between the Holy Spirit and new life is taken for granted in the passages which speak of the believer as dying and rising with Christ.

Major Passages

The three major passages which exhibit this thought are Romans 6:1-11, Colossians 2:11-14, and Ephesians 2:4-7.

Romans 6:1-11. In the sixth chapter of Romans the idea of becoming a Christian is presented by using the figure of resurrection. Here Paul describes baptism as a death and resurrection with Christ. The descent into the water, the submersion, and the rising up out of the water are stages of baptism which present the profound aspects of faith which bring a man into union with Christ. Actually, this important topic is set forth by means of three basic expressions: dying, being buried, and rising with Christ.

But before considering the significance of these forms of expression, it is well to see how this subject is related to the preceding argument in Romans. Paul sums up what has gone before in Romans 5:12-21. The contrast is pointed out between the realm of Adam, in which sin and death reigned through disobedience (1:18-3:20), and the realm of Christ in which righteousness and life reign through faith in Him (3:21-5:11). In pointing out that salvation comes by faith as the response of man to

the grace of God, Paul makes a perilous statement: "Where sin increased, grace abounded all the more."¹⁹ Since this position is open to grave misunderstanding among those having antinomian tendencies, the Apostle continues by answering the question: "Are we to continue in sin that grace may abound?" (6:1).

In answer to this trend of thought Paul makes it plain that any person who would raise this objection does not understand the new life in Christ. Then, he goes on to use the symbolism of baptism by immersion of believers²⁰ to describe what has taken place in the inner being of a person when he becomes a Christian. The Apostle declares:²¹

(3) Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? (4) We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life.

(5) For if we have been united with him in a death like his, we shall certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his. (6) We know that our old self was crucified with him so that the sinful body might be destroyed, and we might no longer be enslaved to sin. (7) For he who has died is

19. Romans 5:20. This misunderstanding has already been alluded to in Romans 3:7-8.

20. W. Wrede, Paul, trans. Edward Lummis (London: Philip Green, 1907), p. 121. Cf. Karl Barth, The Epistle to the Romans, trans. E. C. Hoskyns (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 193. J. Gresham Machen, The Origin of Paul's Religion (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), pp. 286 f.

21. As a possible background of this idea, notice that Ezekiel pictures the beginning of the ideal Israel in the figure of the resurrection of the dry bones: "Thus says the Lord God: Behold, I will open your graves, and raise you from your graves, O my people And I will put my Spirit within you, and you shall live" (Ezekiel 37:12-14). Vide supra in the discussion on Ezekiel 37:1-17 in "The Concept of Return" in "The Old Testament," Chapter II. Cf. C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments, p. 60.

freed from sin. (8) But if we have died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him. (9) For we know that Christ being raised from the dead will never die again; death no longer has dominion over him. (10) The death he died he died to sin, once for all, but the life he lives he lives to God. (11) So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus. (Romans 6:3-11)

According to this passage, when one becomes a Christian, he enters into a spiritual relationship to Christ. The nature of this relationship to Christ is illuminated by Paul's comment that it is a dying with Christ. Being baptized into his death means that there is a real sharing in Christ's death.²² This shows that a faith-relationship with Christ is first made possible by Christ's death and then for the believer there is a real, though partial, entering into the divine purpose.²³ Jesus accepted death for the benefit of men so He could redeem them from sin. Then the believer appropriates the redemption of Christ by being baptized into His death. This means that Christ does something for and to the believer.²⁴

22. Bultmann's existentialist interpretation of dying with Christ does not appear to be strongly grounded upon that which happened once and for all in the coming of Christ, His death, resurrection and ascension. See Rudolf Bultmann, "New Testament and Mythology," Kerygma and Myth, ed. H. W. Bartsch, trans. R. H. Fuller (London: S.P.C.K., 1954), pp. 35-38. This criticism of Bultmann is also maintained by Hermann Ridderbos [Bultmann, trans. D. H. Freeman (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1960), pp. 38-42], but opposed by Schubert M. Ogden [Christ without Myth (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1961), pp. 76 ff.].

23. Vincenzo Jacono, "La Πάλη γένεσιν in S. Paolo e nell'ambiente pagano," pp. 373 f. Cf. Viktor Warnach, "Taufe und Christusgeschehen nach Römer 6," Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft, ed. Hilarius Emonds (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1954), III, 287, 296.

24. R. Ch. Lenski, The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1936), p. 398.

There are several other expressions in Romans 6 which bring out the same idea. The believer's "old self was crucified" (συσταυρωθῆναι) with Christ.²⁵ The Christian has "died" (ἀποθανεῖν) with Christ" (6:8). He has "been united with him in the likeness of his death." (6:5). The phrase "in the likeness [ὁμοίωμα] of" implies an extremely close resemblance, so it refers to a death to sin as real and final as Christ's death on the cross.²⁶ These expressions refer to the moment when the person's life was changed in his dying with Christ spiritually.²⁷

The thought of being incorporated with Christ in a death like His is intensified by Paul's use of the idea of being buried with Christ. "We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death" (6:4). When the catechumen is put completely under the water, there is pictured a burial, the ratification of death. Thus, to descend into the baptismal water, which symbolizes the element of death, is to be buried "with Christ."²⁸

²⁵ Romans 6:6. The "old self" has its correlative in ὁ καὶνὸς ἀνθρώπος, Ephesians 4:22-24, 2:15, and with νέος in Colossians 3:9. In this connection, notice Paul's remark in Galatians 2:20: "I am crucified with Christ."

²⁶ K. E. Kirk, The Epistle to the Romans (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1937), p. 106. According to Günter Wagner, ὁμοίωμα does not mean the baptism itself. This eliminates the incongruency of saying that the baptized person shares in the death and resurrection of Jesus, but Jesus did not die a death of drowning. Cf. G. Wagner, Das religionsgeschichtliche Problem von Römer 6,1-11 (No. 39 of Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, eds. W. Eichrodt and O. Cullmann; Zürich/Stuttgart: Zwingli Verlag, 1962), pp. 293 f.

²⁷ William Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, p. 158.

²⁸ E. Stauffer, New Testament Theology, p. 161.

The Christian dies and is buried because Christ died and was buried, and by his faith-union with Christ he repeats those acts in a moral and spiritual sense.

Being buried with Christ is evidence that the Christian's death to sin is real.²⁹ The figure of burial emphasizes that there was a definite break between the existence the believer knew before he came into a faith-relationship with Christ and the life he experiences after coming into fellowship with the Lord. This change takes place ". . . so that the sinful body might be destroyed and we might no longer be enslaved to sin. For he who has died is freed from sin" (6:6-7).

When one comes to be "in Christ," the body as the seat of sin is killed and buried. Yet, to be "freed from sin" does not mean sinlessness but signifies freedom from sin's power.³⁰ To believe in Christ is to be removed from the reign of sin and to be placed in the reign of righteousness. From the first of this chapter in Romans sin has been the background of Paul's thinking and here he is bringing out why those who have died to sin cannot continue to live in it. The "sinful body" is crushed or rendered powerless to prepare for the "organization of a new self about the center supplied by Christ to the believer."³¹ The new man is endowed with new

29. W. Morgan [The Religion and Theology of Paul (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1929), p. 211] comments on this idea by saying: "It is the actual death--the death which is an essential moment in the mystical union--that sets the sinner free." Cf. W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, op. cit., p. 157.

30. Anders Nygren, Commentary on Romans, trans. C. C. Rasmussen (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1949), p. 241. Karl Barth, The Epistle to the Romans, p. 193.

31. C. H. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans (M.N.T.C.; New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1932), p. 91.

ethical qualities which are based upon the divine $\piνεῦμα$

This $\piνεῦμα$ communicates the $\zetaωή$ to him and gives him power to fulfill God's will (cf. Rom. 12:2, Gal. 5:22 ff.).

The third expression in this passage which is significant for this study is found in the triumphant affirmation that just as Christ was raised by the power of God even so the believers are raised spiritually in order to begin living the new life (6:4). Paul does not explicitly say this in these exact words as he does in Colossians 2:12, but in his metaphorical use of baptism the emerging from the water is understood as implying a spiritual resurrection.³³ In this way, the passage presents the believer as dying and rising with Christ. The believer was made "alive to God" (6:11) through his participation in the death and resurrection of Christ.

Rising with Christ inaugurates a new life in one's relationship to God. To walk in "newness of life," according to Anders Nygren,³⁴ refers to "the nature and manner of the life which belongs to the new aeon." The "newness of life" designates the great value of the reality of salvation.³⁵ To walk in newness of life is the counterpart of being

32. Hans Lietzmann, An die Römer (Vol. VIII of H.z.N.T., fourth edition; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1933), p. 66.

33. W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, op. cit., p. 153. C. H. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, pp. 87, 91. Paul does explicitly declare in Colossians 2:12: "... you were also raised with him [$\sigmaυνηγέρθητε$] through faith in the working of God."

34. Commentary on Romans, p. 235. Cf. Theodor Zahn, Der Briefe des Paulus an die Römer (Leipzig: A. Deichertsche, 1925), pp. 296 f.

35. Johannes Behm, " $\kappa α ι ν ό τ η ς$," T.W.N.T., III, 453. Cf. Günter Wagner, op. cit., p. 294.

buried with Christ which excludes the believer's living in sin. And because "we know that Christ being raised from the dead will never die again; death no longer has dominion over him" (6:9), the believer who is raised with Christ is thereby given the life which will never end.³⁶ Yet, Paul lucidly explains that Christ's resurrection is more than the assurance that His followers will likewise be raised at the parousia. For those who believe, the power of the resurrection is a present reality and a source of a new life in this age. By baptism into His death the believers are "grown together" (σύνϋτος) with Christ (6:5). The believer's whole life, according to Bultmann, is stamped by Christ's death and also by His resurrection. Moreover, the death and resurrection of Christ are cosmic occurrences through which the powers of the old aeon are overcome.³⁷ Through His ministry, death and resurrection, Christ made it potentially possible for all men to receive "life" and freedom from slavery to sin. In effect, what happens to man is that the place of "the old man" has been taken by "the new man." This is necessary because the "old man" and the "new man" do not co-exist within the believer.³⁸ The believers "have

36. Cf. I Corinthians 15:22. Christ's death has removed the sting from death. In addition, the believers have already died with Christ. Hence, the new life continues in this present world and in the next. Cf. Ernest Best, One Body in Christ (London: S.P.C.K., 1955), p. 26.

37. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 299-300. Cf. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, op. cit., p. 788.

38. Although in this passage Paul does not use the precise expression "the new man" (ὁ καινὸς ἄνθρωπος), he does use its correlative "the old man" (Romans 6:6) and there is even a glint of the designation, "the new man, in the words "we too might walk in newness of life." Actually, Paul makes it clear enough that he is alluding here to the fact of "the new man," and he does make use of the expression "the new man" in Ephesians 2:15 and 4:24. Anders Nygren, Commentary on Romans, p. 235. Roy A. Harrisville, The Concept of Newness in the New Testament, pp. 82-83.

been raised with Christ" (Col. 3:1) and "shall certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his" (Rom. 6:5).

Pointing to the future tenses of Romans 6:5 and 8, F. W. Beare³⁹ suggests that the Christian's sharing in the resurrection of Christ is an eschatological expectation, and not to be regarded as a present partial realization. In answer to this suggestion, it must be affirmed that this is a case where isolating sentences from their immediate context results in improper interpretation. Paul's argument implies that the death to sin and the spiritual resurrection of the Christian are already completed in principle.⁴⁰ The parallelism of the passage includes the coming to life again of the believers. Furthermore, this spiritual resurrection is understood as a present reality in 6:11: "So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus." This sentence shows that a death has taken place in the believer and that he has already been brought to life again.⁴¹ Now the Christians are in principle living in newness of life, but they shall be in reality at the end of this age. The resurrection spoken of in this passage refers to a moral and spiritual one in the present as well as a bodily resurrection in the future.

39. "The Epistle to the Colossians" (Exegesis Commentary), I. B., XI, 197.

40. C. H. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, p. 89. A. Nygren, Commentary on Romans, loc. cit. W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, op. cit., p. 154. A. T. Robertson, Word Pictures in the New Testament (Nashville, Tennessee: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1931), IV, 363. M. J. Lagrange, Saint Paul: Epitre aux Romains (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, Editeurs, 1950), p. 145.

41. J.A.T. Robinson, The Body (Studies in Biblical Theology. London: S.C.M. Press, Ltd., 1952), p. 74. Cf. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 248.

Dying and rising with Christ cannot be considered as a magical conception which has been refined by Paul to an ethical conception, as Hans Lietzmann⁴² suggests. The concept presented in this passage cannot be separated from Paul's faith. It is a coming to life of one's inner, spiritual being which has ethical foundation and application.⁴³ The "newness of life" is not just an improvement of the old or a painting over of the old, but it is a profound and radical transformation, a spiritual renewal. The believer is "grafted" into Christ's dying and rising and thus becomes a regenerate man.⁴⁴ Therefore, the Apostle speaks of a present resurrection condition for those who belong to Christ.

Also, at this point L. S. Thornton⁴⁵ appears to be correct in saying that what is true of the individual is true of the church. The believers are grafted into Christ's dying and rising life and thus they receive new life in Him. And just as Christ was raised from the dead by the power of God, they are raised with Him to a new life. In this way, God makes the believers His sons in Christ. By being baptized into His death, the believers are joined to the Body of Christ (cf. Rom 12:5; 7:4).

⁴² An die Römer, pp. 65-68. Opposed by C. H. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, p. 92 and J. Dey, op. cit., p. 165. Cf. I Corinthians 10:1-13.

⁴³ W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 122. It should be mentioned that the New Testament does not appear to speak of immortality as a universal attribute of humanity, but rather of "newness of life" as a gift of God. Cf. Edward W. Ohrenstein, "Immortality in the New Testament," pp. 28-36.

⁴⁴ L. S. Thornton, The Common Life in the Body of Christ, p. 196. Cf. G. Lindeskog, "Förnyelse, nyskapelse, nyfödelse," p. 14.

⁴⁵ The Common Life in the Body of Christ, pp. 280 ff.

Therefore, in a sense when Christ arose from the tomb, the church also rose from the dead. By grafting we are united with the likeness of His death so that through union with the Body of Christ our "sinful body might be destroyed" (Rom. 6:6).

At the same time, Paul thinks of the resurrection to newness of life as only the beginning of the Christian life. Perfection will follow at the end of this age. Nevertheless, since Christians have been raised with Christ in a moral and spiritual resurrection, it follows that they must conduct themselves as men in whom has been implanted a new principle of life. Paul says: "So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus" (6:11). The test of the reality of this new life by union with Christ is its moral results.⁴⁶ If dying and rising with Christ is real, a profound revolution comes to pass in the person's life which manifests itself in a new moral character. In other words, if one is in union with Christ, he must work out ethically all that this involves. He must consider himself as sharing the risen life of Christ so that sin need no longer reign in his mortal body. He begins to "live and move in a new sphere of life" (6:4, Moffatt) in which his life is consecrated to God.

Being "baptized into Christ" means being incorporated into Him.

Moreover, since Christ is the representative of the new people of God,

⁴⁶. Apparently, for this reason W. J. Sparrow Simpson [The Resurrection and Modern Thought (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1911), pp. 304-311] refers to this subject as the "moral resurrection of Christians." However, since the rising with Christ transforms the inner man, it should be understood as both a moral and spiritual resurrection. Cf. C. H. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, p. 93.

being baptized into Him also involves becoming incorporated into the Body of Christ.⁴⁷

The phrase "into Christ" occurs in Romans 6:3, which is followed by a passage speaking of the relationship of being "with" Christ. For Paul to do something "with" Christ speaks of functioning within the corporate Body of Christ into which they have been grafted. When believers are baptized into Christ they enter into the new solidarity. There is a body of sin (*σῶμα τῆς ἀμαρτίας*), Rom. 6:6), that is, a body which belongs to sin. However, the body of sin must be "done away" and it is "with Christ" that their "old man was crucified" (Rom. 6:6). In other words, union with Christ begins the substitution of the solidarity of the body of sin by that of the "body of Christ."⁴⁸

Those who enter into a faith-union with the Lord are "in Christ Jesus" (6:11). Probably, the best commentary on this point is found in II Corinthians 5:17: "Therefore, if any one is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold, the new has come." The idea of being "in Christ" will be considered in detail later in connection with this Corinthian passage.

In Romans 6 Paul uses the great events of the Passion to explain the transformation of the believer's life which is accomplished through union with Christ by faith. In being baptized into Christ, the believer is plunged beneath the water and is removed from contact with the old environment. He dies to the past. When he emerges from the water, he

47. A. Nygren, Commentary on Romans, p. 241. Cf. Ephesians 1:23.

48. Cf. Romans 6:3, 6, 12. J.A.T. Robinson, The Body, pp. 79-80.

enters a new environment which is the realm of the Spirit. Here baptism is presented as the beginning of the new life in which there is a faith-relationship to Christ. In this faith-union with Christ, the believer knows that his old life is dead with Christ and that there is a liberation from the old sphere in the flesh and he enters into the sphere of Christ.

Colossians 2:9-14. Another Pauline passage which describes the spiritual experience represented in baptism as a death and resurrection with Christ is found in Colossians 2:9-14:

(9) For in him [Christ] the whole fullness of deity dwells bodily, (10) and you have come to fullness of life in him, who is the head of all rule and authority. (11) In him also you were circumcised with a circumcision made without hands, by putting off the body of flesh in the circumcision of Christ; (12) and you were buried with him in baptism, in which you were also raised with him through faith in the working of God, who raised him from the dead. (13) And you, who were dead in trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, God made alive together with him, having forgiven us all our trespasses, (14) having canceled the bond which stood against us with its legal demands; this he set aside, nailing it to the cross.

In this passage, Paul compares the kind of life a man lives before he becomes a Christian to the life he lives after becoming a Christian. Accordingly, he points out the differences between the old man without Christ and the new man in Christ. The former spiritual condition of Paul's readers could be characterized as being spiritually dead because of their sins and the uncircumcision of their flesh.⁴⁹ They could not hope to discharge the debt of sin on their own ability. Previously they had been

⁴⁹ Colossians 2:13. This refers to the actual sins of which they were guilty and to the evil nature from which these sins arose. E. F. Scott, The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon and to the Ephesians (M.N.T.C.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930), p. 45. This thought is expressed in Ephesians 2:11.

living under the domination of the elemental spirits of the world (2:20). Only God in Christ could give them a fresh start.⁵⁰ Therefore, having now been made new men through Christ, they could be characterized as having received Christ in faith and as living their lives in union with Christ (2:6-7). Through faith they had died with Christ (2:20), were buried with Christ in baptism, and were raised from the dead (2:12). All of this points up the fact that just as in baptism the believers share in Christ's death so in Christ they share in the miracle of rising again to new life (2:12).

In order to describe the content of the spiritual experience of the Christian Paul makes use of the metaphor of circumcision. He declares: "In him also you were circumcised with a circumcision made without hands, by putting off the body of flesh in the circumcision of Christ" (2:11). The entry into the Christian life is a sharing in the "circumcision of Christ." This "circumcision of Christ" probably refers to the crucifixion of Christ, which was the "putting off of the body of the flesh."⁵¹ The word ἀπεκδυσῆς appears to be coined by Paul here to stress with its double prefix the meaning of the complete "stripping off" of the body of flesh. Their baptismal experience was a participation in Christ's death; it was "a circumcision not made with hands."⁵² The work of Christ

50. T. K. Abbott, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians (I.C.C.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897), p. 254.

51. The "body of his flesh" is mentioned in connection with Christ's death in Colossians 1:22. F. F. Bruce, "Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians" in E. K. Simpson and F. F. Bruce, Commentary to the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1957), pp. 234 f.

52. Jeremiah (4:4) used the idea of the "circumcision of the heart" to refer to the fact that religion must be inward. The spiritual circumcision

had supplanted the physical circumcision and had established the new covenant which had been foretold in Jeremiah 31:31 ff.

The "putting off of the body of flesh" not only has reference to the Crucifixion, but also includes here a reference to the Christian's baptismal experience. In becoming a Christian there is the removal of the "body of flesh." The spiritual circumcision means the casting off of carnal indulgences by the Christian convert.⁵³ What must be put off, according to J.A.T. Robinson, is "the whole personality organised for, and geared into, rebellion against God."⁵⁴

The word circumcision is a suitable term to express what had taken place in the new man. While the experience of entering the faith is likened to circumcision, the Christian experience, as J. B. Lightfoot suggests, is superior to physical circumcision in three ways:⁵⁵ "in character, 'not made with hands,' in extent, not a mere mutilation but a complete 'putting off of the body of flesh,' and in authority, it is 'of Christ' and not merely of Abraham or of Moses." Thus, it must be kept in mind that it is God in Christ who makes possible the spiritual circumcision.

referred to in Colossians 2:11 was meant as a contrast to the physical circumcision which was required on entry into Judaism or the initiation into the "mystery" of the $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha$ cult. F. W. Beare, "The Epistle to the Colossians", pp. 196, also 189-193.

53. E. K. Simpson, "Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians" in E. K. Simpson and F. F. Bruce, Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians, p. 58, n. 18.

54. The Body, p. 31.

55. Saint Paul's Epistle to the Colossians and to Philemon (new edition; London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1904), p. 181. Cf. Romans 2:28-29.

The exact significance of baptism in relation to spiritual circumcision is not easy to define.⁵⁶ Possibly due to his pre-Christian training which included a knowledge of the initiation of the proselyte into Judaism by circumcision, immersion, and giving an offering at the temple, the Apostle appears to avoid bringing Christian baptism into line with a mere outward act of initiation.⁵⁷ The use of the phrase "not made with hands" speaks out against making Christian conversion just a ritual act; yet, the aorist "ye were circumcised," together with other aorists in the passage, seem to indicate that the moment under consideration was the time of baptism.

In verse 12 Paul selects a different metaphor to define the spiritual experience which he had just expressed as "a circumcision made without hands." Here as in Romans 6:1-11 Paul presents the spiritual experience symbolized in baptism as a participation in the death and resurrection of Christ. The wording of this passage does not refer primarily to the bodily resurrection of the believer at the last day, because placing the main emphasis on the final resurrection is excluded by the whole tenor of the passage.⁵⁸ The context speaks of a spiritual experience. In fact, the aorist $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\theta\eta\upsilon\alpha\iota$ in verse 12 means an accomplished experience of resurrection with Christ.⁵⁹

56. The relationship of baptism to Paul's Mysticism will be discussed later in this chapter.

57. H. G. Marsh, The Origin and Significance of the New Testament Baptism (Manchester: The University Press, 1941), p. 133.

58. A. S. Peake, "The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians" (Vol. III of The Expositor's Greek Testament; New York: George H. Doran Company, n.d.), p. 526. Notice the predominance of aorist verbal forms in Colossians 2:11-14.

59. F. W. Beare, "The Epistle to the Colossians," p. 210.

In presenting this thought Paul does not mean to suggest that baptism is a magic rite. To the contrary, it is expressly stated that the person experiences this spiritual transformation "through faith in the working of God" (2:12).

Not only does Paul use the expressive ideas of a circumcision not made with hands and a spiritual resurrection with Christ but he stresses the idea of transformation again with a very striking term. Paul says concerning those who had been spiritually dead because of their sin and because they were morally uncircumcised, "you, who were dead . . . God made alive together with him [Christ]" (2:13). The term $\sigmaυζωοτοίῃσαι$ is a picturesque metaphor which further defines the thought of spiritual resurrection. Paul appears to have coined this term in order to stress the idea that God makes the Christian believer a sharer in the quickening of Christ.⁶⁰ This expression means both the regeneration of the moral being and the gift of life which is at work in the present and continues in the future age.⁶¹

The spiritual experience which is represented here in relation to baptism has both negative and positive effects. The former is seen in the "putting off the body of flesh" (2:11) and in dying to the old way of life (2:12,20). The positive side is seen in the rising from the dead (2:12),

60. The only other occurrence of this word is found in Ephesians 2:5 and in later Christian writers. Cf. A. T. Robertson, op. cit., IV, 493. A. S. Peake, "The Epistle of Paul to the Colossians," p. 526. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, op. cit., p. 783.

61. J. B. Lightfoot, Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, p. 186. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 141. A. Bonhöffer [Epiktet und das Neue Testament, p. 278] comments that $\sigmaυζωοτοίῃσαι$ is the reverse of $\thetaάνατος$.

the being made alive with Christ (2:13), and thus coming into fullness of life in Christ (2:10). In Colossians 2 baptism symbolizes the Christian's faith-union with Christ which "does away with the necessity for circumcision, and is therefore our initiation into the covenant of Christ."⁶²

In this passage several aspects which are associated with becoming a Christian are evident. First, before a person has faith in the power of God, he is spiritually dead through the dominion of the principles of this world's life (2:20) and through personal sins (2:13). Through faith in the power of God in raising Jesus from the dead, God brings about something in man which is analogous to the death and resurrection of Christ. The word *συνταφέντες* (2:12) emphasizes the reality of the believer's death to sin. Just as the burial of Jesus signified the true death of Jesus Christ so the fact that the believers are "buried with him" signifies that they have died with Him.⁶³ The old life of the believers was a thing of the past. The spiritual circumcision was brought about by the convert being buried with Christ.⁶⁴ The believers share in both the death (2:11) and the burial (2:12) of Christ.

The personal experience represented in baptism can also be described as a being raised with Christ through faith and as a being made alive together with Him. Therefore, the believers not only share in Christ's death and burial, but in addition they share in His resurrection. The same "power of God" which raised Christ from the dead works in the

62. H. H. Rowley, "The Origin and Meaning of Baptism," The Baptist Quarterly, XI (1942-45), 313.

63. Vide supra in the discussion of Romans 6:3-4 which is almost a commentary on this verse in Colossians.

64. T. K. Abbott, op. cit., p. 251.

believers to enable them to begin a new life. Thus, the old order is past and the new order has begun. The words with the prefix $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ - used in this entire passage suggest the "withness" that Christians have in Christ.⁶⁵ The new life which they receive is Christ's resurrection life which is bestowed upon all members of His body. In this experience there is included a divesting of the lower nature (2:11), forgiveness of trespasses (2:13), and freedom from the elemental spirits of the world (2:20). To further emphasize what the spiritual resurrection means to the believer Paul paints another picture in verse 14. There Christ is depicted as the champion who comes when the sentence of death has been pronounced upon man, blots out the verdict of death, and nails it to His cross.⁶⁶

The results of this spiritual resurrection upon the believer are:

If then you have been raised with Christ, seek the things that are above, For you have died, and your life is hid with Christ in God. . . . Put to death therefore what is earthly in you . . . (Colossians 3:1, 3, 5)

Since they have been spiritually resurrected with Christ, they are to keep on pursuing the things of the higher world to which they now belong and in which Christ reigns. The whole will and disposition of the believers must be conformed to that heavenly world. They have died to the old order and the resulting condition is that the new life into which they have entered is a life that is "hid with Christ in God." It is an extension of the life of Christ and has its being in God.⁶⁷ And this thought leads

⁶⁵ J.A.T. Robinson, The Body, p. 63.

⁶⁶ James S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 116.

⁶⁷ F. F. Bruce, "Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians," pp. 260 f.

into the idea of the following passage to be considered which speaks of "sitting with him in heavenly places in Christ Jesus."

Ephesians 2:4-7. Paul also describes the condition of becoming a Christian in Ephesians 2:4-7 as a transition from the sphere of spiritual death to that of spiritual life. The passage reads:

(4) But God, who is rich in mercy, out of the great love with which he loved us, (5) even when we were dead through our trespasses, made us alive together with Christ (by grace you have been saved), (6) and raised us up with him, and made us sit with him in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, (7) that in the coming ages he might show the immeasurable riches of his grace in kindness toward us in Christ Jesus.

Here again the beginning of the spiritual life in man is described by means of the metaphor of resurrection. It is a spiritual resurrection, but dying with Christ is not explicitly mentioned as in Colossians 2:12-13.

The use of "we" and "us" in these verses points toward the fact that not only were the Gentiles in need of this spiritual resurrection, but so were the Jews. In moral conduct, both Jews and Gentiles were "following the desires of body and mind" (2:3) so as to be in themselves deserving of wrath and living under condemnation.⁶⁸ While they were alive physically, they were dead spiritually with the death of sin because they lived in sin. They had no life beyond the life of this world.⁶⁹ When men were dead in sin, God the Father showed His love for them by quickening the believers with Christ to share his risen and ascended life.

68. T. K. Abbott, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, p. 45. E. F. Scott, The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon and to the Ephesians, p. 164. Francis W. Beare, "The Epistle to the Ephesians" (Exegesis Commentary), I. B., X, 641.

69. J. Armitage Robinson, St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1923), p. 48.

This quickening is meant, of course, in the soteriological sense. The verb "to make alive together with" ($\sigma\upsilon \zeta\omega\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$) refers to the new life which is given by God. Therefore, this verb is used to designate the rising from the dead of the believers which is established through Christ's rising from the dead. Through union with Christ, the spiritually dead are brought to new moral life. This divine quickening refers to the present regeneration of the believer.⁷⁰

Being made alive with Christ involves both the being raised up with Him and being made to sit with Him in heavenly places. Here it should be remembered what God has accomplished in Christ "when he raised him from the dead and made him sit at his right hand in the heavenly places (1:20). Then, it can be seen that the simple verbs, "raised" and "seated," referring to Christ in Ephesians 1 are used as compound verbs ("raised with," "seated with") in 2:6 to bring out the fact that the believers share in Christ's experience. By faith the believers are

70. Since Ephesians 2:6 declares the believer to be already risen with Christ, the question arises about a different emphasis in other letters of Paul. In Romans 6:5, for example, the resurrection appears in the future: "If we have been united with him in a death like his, we shall certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his." Looking at Ephesians 2 and Romans 6, a contrast can conceivably be drawn between union with Christ as already effected and union with His risen life as attained gradually and to be completed at the general resurrection. Comp. I Corinthians 15:22, 23, 49. The difference between Ephesians 2:6 and Romans 6:5 should not be overly stressed for two reasons. First, the language concerning the union with Christ's death implies that the new life has already begun. Second, even in Romans 6 where the future tense is used in verses 5 and 8, there follows immediately the Apostle's exhortation to his readers to consider themselves "alive unto God in Christ Jesus" (6:11) and to dedicate themselves to God "as men who have been brought from death to life" (6:13). Therefore, the believer is already risen with Christ, but awaits its complete fulfillment at the final resurrection. Cf. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, II, 159-160, and " $\zeta\omega\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ " T.W.N.T., II, 877.

united with Christ and they (Jews and Gentiles) are raised along with Christ into a higher condition.⁷¹

Not only is there an analogy between the resurrection of Christ and that of the believers, but also "to sit with him in the heavenly places" shows that the believers become partakers in Christ's glory.⁷²

In fact, this quickening, this spiritual resurrection, and this seating of them with Him are effective because they are "in Christ Jesus" (2:6).

Thus, the followers of Christ belong even now in principle to that invisible world in which Christ dwells, and they anticipate entering into that future salvation in reality in the age to come.⁷³

The introduction of the verb *συνεγείρειν* in the context with *συσωποιοεῖν* and *συνκαθίσειν* probably

shows that both the present moral resurrection and the future bodily resurrection were in mind as one marvelous gift of life.⁷⁴ Finally, this passage emphasizes the fact that it is God the sovereign who bestows regeneration on the believers as a free gift which men neither deserve nor can earn. In other words, divine grace touches their lives and transforms their deadness of soul into vigorous spiritual life.

71. Notice, for example, that *συνωποιοεῖν* is used somewhat synonymously with *εγείρειν* in Romans 8:11. Cf. E. F. Scott, The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon and to the Ephesians, p. 164. R. Bultmann, T.W.N.T., II, 877.

72. L. S. Thornton, The Common Life in the Body of Christ, pp. 183 f.

73. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, II, 159-160.

74. S.D.F. Salmond, "The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians" (Vol. III of The Expositor's Greek Testament. 5 vols.; New York: George H. Doran Company, n.d.), p. 288. All three of these verbs are used in the aorist tense here.

Paul's Mysticism

In the three passages which have just been discussed the idea of dying and rising with Christ was a prominent feature. This idea deserves further consideration. By partaking of the death and resurrection of Christ the believer is united with the Risen Lord. This union with Christ is often described as a "mystical union," and the circle of ideas associated with this conception of union with Christ is referred to as Paul's "mysticism." There are those who dislike the usage of the word "mystical" in reference to union with Christ.⁷⁵ However, because this designation is used so often in this connection and because a proper understanding of it can pave the way for a correct comprehension of Paul's thinking, it seems appropriate to make use of the expression here.

In order to elucidate what Paul meant by this subject, a proper comprehension of the contested term "mystical" is necessary. Some consider the term "mystical" to have associations which suggest ideas of unreal piety, of sentimentalism, or spiritual ambition, and excited aspirations to extraordinary, ecstatic and morbid states. However, mystical union with Christ actually describes the form in which Paul experienced Christianity. Paul's mysticism was just his faith in Christ realized with particular intimacy and fervor.⁷⁶ By the mysticism of Paul the reference is to that which the Germans properly term Mystik, that is,

75. Ethelbert Stauffer, New Testament Theology, p. 150, n. 494. Friedrich Schleiermacher, The Christian Faith, eds. H. R. Mackintosh and J. F. Stewart (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928), p. 429.

76. Elias Andrews, The Meaning of Christ for Paul (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1949), pp. 84-91. Adolf Deissmann, Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History, pp. 135, 148-149.

the genuine religious attitude or "mysticism" in a good sense.⁷⁷ According to Paul's Christ-mysticism, the believer identifies himself with Christ in His attitude to sin and begins a life in fellowship with Christ. Union with Christ refers to a quality of life which is essentially supernatural and eternal.

In order to understand Paul's mysticism correctly, it must be interpreted by what he says concerning communion with Christ. And it is right at this point that the Apostle's teaching about dying, rising and living with Christ comes into prominence. According to Paul, dying and rising with Christ brings about a mystical fellowship between the believer and Christ.⁷⁸ From the time Jesus rose from the dead, the power of His resurrection made possible the quickening of believers already in this earthly life; whereby, they were able to begin living the resurrection manner of existence even before the general resurrection of the dead takes place.⁷⁹ While it was necessary to wait until the parousia for

77. Adolf Deissmann, The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul, trans. W. E. Wilson (second edition; New York: George H. Doran Company, 1926), pp. 194-196. Of course, Evelyn Underhill [Mysticism: A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., Publishers, 1930)] and others use the term "mysticism" in a technical sense in writing about the great "mystics." This discussion centers around Paul's mysticism and does not intend to cast an aspersion at the legitimate usage of E. Underhill and others in their writings.

78. Vincent Taylor, Forgiveness and Reconciliation (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1948), pp. 117 f.

79. L. S. Thornton, op. cit., pp. 268-282. Cf. Romans 6:4-11; Galatians 2:20; Colossians 2:12 ff.; Ephesians 2:1,5; II Corinthians 4:10 ff.

the bodily resurrection, one may experience the spiritual resurrection even in the present life.⁸⁰ In this way, the believers become participants in the new age of the kingdom in its present manifestation.

The idea of rising with Christ is presented in some passages as a present experience and in others as a future realization. In Romans 6:5 the believers are united at present with Christ in "the likeness of his death"; whereas, the union with "the likeness of his resurrection" appears to lie in the future.⁸¹ On the other hand, the "newness of life" is the present possession of the Christians (Rom. 6:4): they "have been brought from death to life" (Rom. 6:13, cf. 6:11). The believers "were buried with him in baptism," in which they "were also raised with him through faith in the working of God, who raised him from the dead" (Col. 2:12). God "raised us up with him, and made us sit with him in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus" (Eph. 2:6). Therefore, there is a tension between both of these aspects of Christian existence--the present possession of the spiritual resurrection along with the future hope of the bodily resurrection. The Christians "walk in newness of life" now, but the

80. In the same way, all of Paul's regulative ideas, such as justification, adoption, and reconciliation, are thought of by him as both present and future. Therefore, those who have become Christians "no longer" lack justification in their present existence; however, they have "not yet" received the final fulfilment of their justification which will come at the consummation of this present age. These concepts are thoroughly eschatological. Cf. A. Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, pp. 81 ff.

81. Likewise, I Corinthians 6:14: "And God raised the Lord and will also raise us up by his power." Cf. II Corinthians 4:14.

full realization of this new life waits upon the parousia.⁸² This fact is clearly set forth in the significant affirmation concerning Paul's purpose in life: "All I care for is to know Christ, to experience the power of his resurrection, and to share his sufferings, in growing conformity with his death, if only I may finally arrive at the resurrection from the dead" (Phil. 3:10 f., N.E.B.).

Christ-mysticism, Deissman declares,⁸³ is to Paul "rather a glowing fire than a flickering flame." The Apostle's sense of communion with Christ was not a sporadic feeling, but was thought of as a continuing possession of the Christian life. Those who were apprehended by Christ began the enduring condition of reconciled men (Phil. 3:12). While Paul had his moments of ecstasy, he was aware of their danger (II Cor. 12:1-10), and, to him, union with Christ was an abiding relationship with his Risen Lord. At the same time, this relationship does not refer to a loss of human personality in God. On the contrary, the union with Christ does not extinguish personality but enhances and enriches personality and brings about increased possibilities of life.⁸⁴ When one is united with Christ, he is freed from bondage to sin and is brought into an ampler form of life. Paul's mysticism is a "fellowship-mysticism." This fellowship with Christ

82. R. F. Hettlinger, "2 Corinthians 5:1-10," S.J.T., I (1957), pp. 188 f. J.A.T. Robinson, The Body, pp. 74 f.

83. Paul, p. 156.

84. Vincent Taylor, The Cross of Christ (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1956), p. 40. A. Deissmann, Paul, pp. 150 f. J. Weiss [The History of Primitive Christianity, II, 470] adds that while the first part of Galatians 2:20 is an impressive statement asserting the depth of Paul's mysticism, it is immediately qualified in the latter part of the verse by a confession in the spirit of the I-and-thou religion.

moves the believer to face the realities of life with an enlarged perspective and a deeper love.

The believer enters into the experience of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection in virtue of his faith-relationship with the Risen Lord.

In a profound mystical utterance, Paul acknowledges:⁸⁵

I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.

Basically, this passage describes Paul's personal experience of faith-union with Christ; however, it should not be interpreted as a privilege reserved for Paul alone. The context of this passage demonstrates that the experience described in Galatians 2:20 must be the experience of every genuine believer.⁸⁶

Another passage which throws light on this matter is Galatians 5:25: "If we live by the Spirit, let us also walk by the Spirit." The expression "we live by the Spirit" refers to a vital spiritual fellowship, a mystical union.⁸⁷ Since the verb is in the plural, it is understood that the Spirit gives the power which operates in all who believe and commit themselves to God. In the Apostle's thinking this faith-union with Christ is open to every believer as well as to groups of Christians.⁸⁸

85. Galatians 2:20. Cf. Philippians 1:21.

86. Comp. II Corinthians 13:5 and I Corinthians 6:17. W. Morgan, The Religion and Theology of Paul (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1917), p. 119.

87. E. D. Burton, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, p. 322. H. N. Ridderbos, The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia, trans. Henry Zylstra (The New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1956), p. 210.

88. Cf. Galatians 3:28 and II Corinthians 5:17.

While the believer's death and resurrection with Christ is the beginning of fellowship with Him, there is also a continuing aspect which is an essential part of a transformed life. To Paul the Christian has to die daily. Thus the Apostle declared: "we are . . . always carrying in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our bodies. For while we live we are always being given up to death for Jesus' sake, so that the life of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh" (II Cor. 4:10-11). This is an "ethical" dying and demonstrates Paul's mysticism to be essentially ethical.⁸⁹ Moreover, the process of dying and living with Christ is repeated until the final goal of the resurrection of the dead is attained (Phil. 3:10-11).

In referring to the experience of union with Christ, Vincent Taylor asserts:⁹⁰ "The essential condition is that the old selfish ego is dethroned, and is replaced by the Christ-self, the personality in which Christ 'lives'." For the believers all is in Him, and whether they live, or whether they die, they are always in Christ. In fact, like individuals, Paul maintains that the church as a whole is in Christ (Rom. 12:5).

In addition, Paul can say, "Now you are Christ's body and each of you a limb or organ of it" (I Cor. 12:27, N.E.B.). "So you, my friends, have died to the law by becoming identified with the body of Christ, and accordingly you have found another husband in him who rose from the

89. Ernest Best, One Body in Christ, p. 16. W. Morgan, The Religion and Theology of Paul, pp. 120 f.

90. Forgiveness and Reconciliation, p. 118.

dead, so that we may bear fruit for God" (Rom. 7:14, N.E.B.). Becoming a member of the Body of Christ, John A. T. Robinson stresses,⁹¹ should be understood as referring to the union of the believers with a person, Jesus Christ, and not with a society. The Apostle uses the term $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ to assert that Christians are in fact the Body of the risen Christ. As attested by Dr. Robinson:⁹²

Paul uses the analogy of the human body to elucidate his teaching that Christians form Christ's body. But the analogy holds because they are in literal fact the risen organism of Christ's person in all its concrete reality. What is arresting is his identification of this personality with the Church. . . .

It is almost impossible to exaggerate the materialism and crudity of Paul's doctrine of the Church as literally now the resurrection body of Christ. . . . His underlying conception is not of a supra-personal collective, but of a specific personal organism. He is not saying anything so weak as that the Church is a society with a common life and governor, but that its unity is that of a single physical entity: disunion is dismemberment.

In this manner, Dr. Robinson emphasizes that the believers are not "like" Christ's body, but they are actually the physical complement and extension of the resurrection body of Christ.

Of course, this scholar has made an important contribution to our understanding of the Pauline doctrine of The Body; however, R. F.

Hettlinger is probably correct in pointing out that Dr. Robinson appears to have overdrawn his argument in his virtual identification of the Resurrection Body of Christ and the Church. Hettlinger declares: "St.

Paul speaks of the Church as growing into the fulness of the Body (Eph. 4:11-16; cf. 2:20-22); but he can hardly mean that the Resurrection of

91. The Body, pp. 49 ff.

92. Ibid., p. 51. Cf. L. S. Thornton, op. cit., p. 298.

Christ is yet incomplete."⁹³ It would be more correct to say that the corporate Body and Christ are not regarded as identical, but because the corporate personality exists only through Christ and is ruled by Him, it inheres in Him.⁹⁴

Paul's thought concerning the Christians being the Body of Christ leads on to the conclusion that the believers really died and were raised with Christ, and that the resurrection body is not any individual gift bestowed on each one at death, but is the corporate Christ into whom they are baptized. By becoming members of the Body of Christ they receive the powers of the age-to-come which go forth from Christ. In union with Christ, the mind, the feelings, and the will are stimulated and engaged. So the glory of Christ's resurrection body can and must shine out of His members because "we all reflect as in a mirror the splendor of the Lord."⁹⁵ By being "baptized into Christ," they are associated with Christ's work for men. The purpose of God and the personal interests of the Christians are superimposed one upon the other. The believer dies, is buried, is raised and lives with Christ, and he fixes his hope in steadfast faith upon the

93. "2 Corinthians 5:1-10," p. 188, n. 3. In reference to the same subject C.F.D. Moule questions the position found in Robinson's monograph, The Body, by asserting: "Dr. Robinson's denial of σωμα as a term of individuality (p. 12 No. 1) is possibly too sweeping: we ought, perhaps, to have it both ways." Cf. C.F.D. Moule's book review of J.A.T. Robinson's The Body, J.T.S., IV (1953), pp. 74 f.

94. Roy A. Harrisville, "Bultmann's Concept of the Transition from Inauthentic to Authentic Existence," Kerygma and History, eds. Carl E. Braaten and Roy A. Harrisville (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), p. 226.

95. II Corinthians 3:18, N.E.B. J.A.T. Robinson, The Body, p. 73. Cf. V. Taylor, Forgiveness and Reconciliation, p. 119.

consummation of this age when God shall be all and His will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

The Origin of Paul's Mysticism

There are several interpretations concerning the origin of the Apostle's Christ-mysticism. As some see it, the concept of dying and rising with Christ as found in Paul probably came from the mystery religions.⁹⁶ These writers attempt to bring out the similarity between the initiation of the devotees of certain mystery cults in receiving a type of union with their lord and the experience of the Christian believer in being united with the Risen Christ. Since this matter has been dealt with in detail earlier in this dissertation, it will not be necessary to go into a lengthy appraisal of their arguments here.

The suggestion that Paul is manifestly influenced by the mystery religions may appear plausible until the extant sources are studied. However, after considering the primary sources, one becomes aware of the fact that this suggestion cannot be substantiated with any certainty. For example, according to Apuleius' Metamorphoses (150 A. D.), the central act of the Isiac initiation is a death which issues in life. However, this is vastly different from the Pauline idea of dying and rising with Christ, because the Isiac initiation is only the promise of immortality which does not result in power over sin and it is openly admitted to be lacking in permanent sufficiency for Lucius himself underwent two other

^{96.} Vide R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 139-140. R. Reitzenstein, Die hellenistischen Mysterien-religionen, pp. 45-46, 417-425. Wilhelm Bousset, Kyrios Christos (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921), pp. 113-120.

initiations after this one.⁹⁷ The Isiâc initiation does not present the New Testament teaching of regeneration. Furthermore, the idea of ritual dying and rising seen in the taurobolium of the cult of Cybele and Attis as well as the symbolic death and rebirth in A Mithras Liturgy are both from sources dating no earlier than the fourth century A. D.⁹⁸ Therefore, from the facts which are at hand, these sources are inadmissible as evidence for the period of primitive Christianity.

Even if a person is not convinced by the argument from chronology, it must be remembered that Hellenistic mysticism is founded on the idea of absorption into the Divine while Pauline mysticism on the concept of fellowship with God. It is impossible, according to Albert Schweitzer,⁹⁹ to find in Hellenistic literature parallels for the characteristic phrases "with Christ" and "in Christ" which make up the very heart of Paul's religion. In outlook, Paul is poles removed from the mysteries. His stress of faith and ethical life indicates an opposition to any strong link with the mysteries.

In this era of "parallelomania,"¹⁰⁰ not only can the initiation ceremonies of the mystery religions be pointed out as a possible source,

97. Metamorphoses XI, 27 and 29. Vide supra in the section on "Isis and Osiris-Serapis" in Chapter I. Professor V. Jacono [op. cit., pp. 387, 397] believes that this symbolic death in the ritual really looks forward to natural death and the transmigration of the soul.

98. For a discussion of the entire problem, see the section entitled "Rebirth in the Mystery Religions," Chapter I.

99. The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, p. 16. Cf. A. Nygren, Commentary on Romans, pp. 236 f.

100. Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," J.B.L., LXXI (1962), pp. 1-13.

but the Judaic ideas should also be presented. Of course, as Bultmann¹⁰¹ has pointed out, the concept of dying and rising with the Redeemer is foreign to Old Testament-Jewish thinking because it does not present any cultic acts based on the fate of the Deity and intending to bring its effects into the present. On the other hand, it is possible that the idea of the future "resurrection of the ideal Israel" found in Ezekiel 37:1-14 may have contributed to the foundation upon which the Apostle's concept was built.¹⁰² There are also ideas in the Rabbinic literature which could have been a part of the background of Paul's thinking. Such an idea is found in a statement by R. Gamaliel (90-130 A. D.) in b Sanhedrin 91a in which the resurrection from the dead is described as being similar to the creation of man in the mother's womb and to birth.¹⁰³ It is not too difficult to see how a person with the mind of Paul could have possibly transferred this eschatological thought to the present and applied it to rising with Christ whereby the believer receives new life here and now.

Even more convincing is the suggestion by W. D. Davies¹⁰⁴ that Paul's conception of the dying and rising with Christ is derived from the

101. Theology of the New Testament, I, 140.

102. C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments, p. 60. Vide supra at the treatment of Ezekiel 37:1-14 in the section on "The Concept of Return," Chapter II.

103. Vide supra in the section entitled "The Resurrection Made Parallel to Creation in the Womb" in "Rabbinic Judaism," Chapter II.

104. Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 107, 110, n. 1. Cf. W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), pp. 97 f.

same world of thought as is indicated in the liturgy of the Passover. Just as the true Jew is one who personally appropriates the historical event of the Passover, so the true Christian is one who re-enacts in his own experience the life of Christ. However, since Paul's conception of rising with Christ in Romans 6 is an exposition of salvation which is founded on faith in Jesus Christ and which is presented in terms of the teaching of the early church as contrasted with that of the synagogue, it seems wise to look elsewhere for the basic origin of Paul's mysticism.¹⁰⁵

The Teaching of Jesus and that of the Early Church

Although a number of scholars disavow that the mystery cults are the background of Paul's mysticism, not many have offered constructive information as to the probable source. In discussing the root of Paul's thought in this matter, it must be remembered that Christian baptism incorporates the historic gospel of Christ crucified and raised.¹⁰⁶ Thus, the association of baptism and dying with Christ in Romans 6 may be rooted in Jesus' own sayings:

Are you able to drink of the cup that I drink, or to be baptized with the baptism with which I am baptized?

(Mark 10:38)

and

I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how I am constrained until it is accomplished! (Luke 12:50)

The word "baptism" in the Lukan passage, as declared by E. F. Scott,¹⁰⁷ is not a purely figurative expression but also has an analogy

¹⁰⁵. W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, p. 98. The form which Paul's mysticism took, Elias Andrews affirms [The Meaning of Christ for Paul, p. 86], "indicates that it had little affinity with any external types either in Judaism or paganism."

¹⁰⁶. W. F. Flemington, The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism (London: S.P.C.K., 1953), p. 73.

¹⁰⁷. The Kingdom and the Messiah (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1917),

with the rite of baptism itself. Just as Jesus' baptism inaugurated His ministry in Palestine, so the baptism He was to undergo at Calvary would mark the beginning of a fuller activity, unhampered by the conditions of His earthly ministry. If this interpretation is correct, then it was Jesus Himself who first forged the link between the ideas of "baptism" and "death." Apparently Jesus considered the Cross as the consummation of a baptism which began in the Jordan when He was consecrated to the work of the Suffering Servant of the Lord.¹⁰⁸ Paul's linking of baptism with the idea of death probably has its origin in Jesus' own teaching.¹⁰⁹ Jesus calls His death a baptism, and Paul in turn calls our baptism a death that has its fulfillment through the Crucifixion. Certainly, the ingredients from which Paul or other Christians could have developed the relationship of baptism and death can be found in the teaching of Jesus.

In connection with the origin of this doctrine, it is impossible for us to know how much teaching lay behind Paul's mysticism as contained

pp. 227-230.

108. J.A.T. Robinson ["The One Baptism as a Category of New Testament Soteriology," S.J.T., VI (1953), pp. 259 and 267, respectively] comments: "The baptism of Jesus is His whole existence in the form of a servant, all that is included in His being upon earth 'not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many' (Mark 10:45)" and "... Christian baptism is none other than the great baptism of Christ now made individually effective." Cf. A. M. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, p. 136. E. F. Scott, The Kingdom and the Messiah, p. 227.

109. W. F. Flemington, op. cit., p. 32. J.A.T. Robinson, op. cit., S.J.T., VI (1953), pp. 258-263. In fact, Dr. Robinson (pp. 257-274) demonstrates that the doctrine of Christ's death as a prevenient and all-inclusive baptism is a soteriological category common to every important literary tradition in the New Testament (Mark, Q, John, Acts, Paul, the Pastorals, Hebrews, Peter and the Apocalypse). Cf. E. Stauffer, New Testament Theology, p. 150.

in his epistles which are not extant. However, it is very interesting that he uses the language of dying and rising with Christ in writing to two churches (Rome and Colossae) which he had not visited. In these epistles he does not appear to have to justify his terminology, however startling may have been the content he put into it.

Accordingly, H. G. Marsh¹¹⁰ believes that Paul's mysticism was an outgrowth of the early church's teaching concerning the gift of the Spirit in baptism. Since the doctrine of the gift of the Spirit in baptism was accepted in the early Christian communities, it is probable that this teaching contributed to the formation of the Apostle's mysticism. In his doctrine of union with Christ, the Apostle makes use of ideas which resemble those set forth in an element of the Lord's teaching found in the Fourth Gospel. Notice, for example, the allegory of the vine and the branches (15:1 ff.) and the passage where Jesus affirms that He is the "living bread" which "a man may eat, and never die" (John 5:50-51, N.E.B.).

In another metaphor Jesus appears to point out that the future resurrection is contingent upon a present union with His life:

In truth, in very truth I tell you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood you can have no life in you. Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood possesses eternal life, and I will raise him up on the last day.
(John 6:53-54, N.E.B.)

By the act of eating the bread and drinking the wine in the Eucharist, the union with Christ is symbolized in which the believer, as Jesus¹¹¹ says, "abides in me, and I in him."

¹¹⁰. Op. cit., pp. 139-142.

¹¹¹. John 6:56. Cf. W. F. Howard, "The Gospel according to St. John" (Exegesis Commentary), I. B., VIII, 573. Vincent Taylor [Forgiveness and Reconciliation, p. 122] writes: "In substance the Johannine mysticism closely resembles the Pauline mysticism, the principal differences being

Another connection between the teaching of the early church and that of the Apostle is seen in the Adam/Christ theology. As has already been discussed, the concept of the Second Adam is found in the Synoptic Gospels.¹¹² This concept is seen in connection with the designation "Son of man." In using the title "Son of man," Jesus appears to understand that He represents humanity and that this designation shows His oneness with humanity. In applying this designation to Himself, Jesus probably connected His work in some way with the divine creation of man and with Adam. As the Son of man, Jesus set out to create a new humanity, a new "Adam," the corporate Son of man. Moreover, the sufferings and death of Jesus made possible the birth of the new humanity.

It is not a difficult transition from this teaching to Paul's concept of being in union with Christ. To Paul, Christ is the new Adam, the representative of the new humanity (cf. Rom. 5:12 ff.). In Christ sin and death are overcome. Those who believe in Him are justified and receive "life" (Rom. 4:25; 5:16 f., 19-21). They are ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, which means that their lives are determined by the salvation event in Christ.¹¹³ By placing these ideas beside each other, it can be seen that there is a possible connection between the Adam/Christ theology in the early church and the Apostle's teaching about union with

that the former also discloses itself as a God-mysticism and does not make use of the dying and rising with Christ." Correcting the later part of this statement, Professor J. S. Stewart [A Man in Christ, pp. 171-173] has effectively pointed out that for Paul being united to Christ is being united to the living God.

112. Vide supra in "The Idea of Newness," Chapter III.

113. Günter Wagner, op. cit., p. 303.

Christ. For this reason, R. Newton Flew¹¹⁴ can assert that Paul takes up the early teaching of a corporate relationship of the community with Christ and interprets it by his Christ-mysticism.

From the foregoing discussion, one is placed in the position to see the connection of Paul's mysticism, not with the Hellenistic mysteries, but with the teaching of Jesus and that of the early church. Yet, there is a second source which contributed to the formulation of Paul's mysticism.

Paul's Personal Experience

Not only was Paul influenced by the teaching of the primitive church, but his Christ-mysticism is also the result of his own personal experience. In an article found in The Expository Times, William E. Wilson¹¹⁵ affirms that the Apostle's conception of dying and rising again with Christ is firmly rooted in Paul's own experience. As this conception occurs in Romans and Colossians, it appears to have taken, Wilson asserts, a definite form of expression thoroughly familiar to the Apostle himself and possibly also to his readers.¹¹⁶ It is pointed out that this concept does not occur in the Apostle's earlier epistles (I and II Thessalonians and I Corinthians), even in two places where it might appropriately be

114. Jesus and His Church, pp. 54, 58. Albert Schweitzer presents a similar view in The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, p. 143.

115. "The Development of Paul's Doctrine of Dying and Rising Again with Christ," Exp. T., XLII (1930-1931), 562-565. Cf. William Sanday and A. C. Headlam, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, p. 162.

116. Op. cit., Exp. T., XLII (1930-1931), 563. The omission of Ephesians here demonstrates that Wilson does not consider it authentically Pauline.

mentioned.¹¹⁷ These two places are I Corinthians 6:14 and 15:22 where²⁶⁶ the resurrection of Jesus Christ and the resurrection of the believer at the End are placed parallel to one another. Yet, there is no suggestion of a present experience in either passage.

On the other hand, the doctrine does appear in II Corinthians 4:10, 14. However, when these verses are read in the context of chapters 4 and 5 in which Paul speaks of his intense troubles and of seeing a deeper life opening up for him than he had previously known, the following impression is gained:¹¹⁸

. . . the conclusion is strongly suggested that the true source of this doctrine is not the Mystery Religions (though, of course, he may have known something about them, and that knowledge may almost unconsciously have influenced him), but a definite concrete experience of mortal distress and vital succour, throughout which he had known the presence of Christ in peculiar strength and vividness.

For this terrible experience, William E. Wilson postulates that not long before leaving Ephesus to journey by way of Macedonia to Corinth, Paul had been arrested and condemned to death, and then, by an act of Providence,¹¹⁹ released.

William E. Wilson's suggestion of an Ephesian imprisonment as giving opportunity for formulating the idea of dying and rising with Christ is a neat explanation for the origin of this thought in Paul's mind. But if one cannot be absolutely sure that Paul was actually imprisoned at

117. However, Paul's mysticism is definitely set forth in Galatians 2:20.

118. Exp. T., XLII, 563-564. (Italics mine.)

119. This interpretation agrees with James Moffatt's translation [A New Translation of the Bible (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1935), p. 223] of II Corinthians 1:8-10 in reading the passage as a personal experience.

Ephesus,¹²⁰ then where is the bedrock foundation of Paul's doctrine of union with Christ? The answer to this question is found in Paul's personal experience of conversion.

From the time of his conversion on the Damascus Road, Paul was convinced that Jesus, who was crucified and buried, was now alive. This caused him to reevaluate the redemptive significance of Christ's death and resurrection for the believer. The Apostle's conversion was the foundation upon which his doctrine of union with Christ developed.¹²¹ Add to this foundation the Apostle's daily living out this faith-union with Christ in all kinds of circumstances and one catches a glimpse of the profound meaning of being united with Christ. Through his own fellowship with the sacrifice and suffering of Christ, Paul came to express the idea by saying: "I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me" (Gal. 2:20). Paul believed that he had come to be "in Christ" and Christ "in

120. C. H. Dodd, [New Testament Studies (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1953), pp. 89-108] has very skillfully pointed out the weaknesses in the argument of G. S. Duncan [St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Limited, 1929), pp. 59 ff.] concerning an Ephesian imprisonment.

121. Elias Andrews, The Meaning of Christ for Paul, pp. 83-91. Cf. James S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, pp. 164, 167. Maurice Coguel, The Birth of Christianity, trans. H. C. Snape (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954), p. 245. H. G. Marsh, op. cit., p. 141. Nowhere else, according to R. H. Strachan [The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, p. 119], than in II Corinthians 5:16-21 does Paul make it more evident that his own conversion experience is the real origin of all his thinking.

him." He had become incorporated into the Body of Christ. Now he was a part of the new humanity, the new Adam. This had come about by his sharing in the death and resurrection of Christ.

Therefore, if Paul were imprisoned at Ephesus, this "experience of mortal distress," as Wilson describes it, may have been the point at which the idea of dying and rising with Christ solidified in his thinking. Nevertheless, the basic foundation of the doctrine of dying and rising with Christ is found in Paul's conversion on the way to Damascus and in his continuing, intimate communion with the crucified and risen Lord under all the varied circumstances of the Apostle's life. These factors account for the development of this concept which came to have a definite place in Paul's soteriology.

The Relation of Baptism to Rising with Christ

After studying the comparatively few, but significant, references to baptism which occur in the Pauline epistles,¹²² one is impressed with the fair-minded and accurate appraisal of this subject given in a statement by A. M. Hunter:¹²³

The general impression given by Paul's language [concerning baptism] is that, like most ancients who did not clearly distinguish between the sign and the thing signified, he hesitates between the symbolical and the sacramental modes of thought. At all events, faith is the necessary prerequisite of baptism.

122. Cf. Romans 6:3 ff.; I Corinthians 1:13-17; 6:11; 10:1-3; 12:13; 15:29; Galatians 3:27; Colossians 2:12, and Ephesians 5:26.

123. Paul and His Predecessors, p. 67. Likewise, J. Weiss, The History of Primitive Christianity, II, 635. Cf. H.A.A. Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions, pp. 220-228, 241-255. C.A.A. Scott, Christianity according to St. Paul (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), pp. 99-133.

To this should be added the conclusion of H. G. Marsh¹²⁴ concerning the relation of baptism and rising with Christ as found in the sixth chapter of Romans:

Faith and the baptismal conception are joined in an indissoluble union. However different the two ideas may seem to be, Paul links them together "in a perfectly real if undefinable way," to quote a phrase of Wrede, which aptly expresses the connection. . . . How far faith and the ritual act affect each other in producing the experiences associated with baptism we cannot tell since the apostle gives no indication.

These carefully-worded statements give us a basis with which to begin considering Paul's thought in this area. One item is important: in order to remain true to Paul's point of view it is necessary to adhere to the categories of thought as contained in his epistles.

In Romans 6:3 ff. and Colossians 2:12, baptism is described as a burial of the believer with Christ and a resurrection with Him into newness of life.¹²⁵ From the words "Do you not know that . . ." in Romans 6:3, it appears likely that Paul was referring to an idea which would even be familiar to the church at Rome where he had never visited.¹²⁶

124. Op. cit., p. 143. Cf. W. Wrede, Paul, p. 122.

125. Ephesians 2:4-7 does not mention baptism. However, because this passage is similar to Colossians 2:12-13 (F. W. Beare [op. cit., I. B., X, 638] describes Ephesians 2:4-7 as an expansion of Colossians 2:13), the thought of baptism may be implied in Ephesians 2. On the other hand, Galatians 2:19-20 exhibits the fact that dying with Christ can be described by Paul without identifying it with the baptismal experience, Cf. H.A.A. Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions, p. 242.

126. Of course, these words could be interpreted as only a trait of style; however, this interpretation appears unlikely at this point. Cf. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, op. cit., p. 11. Karl Barth, The Epistle to the Romans, p. 193. James Denney, "St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans" (Vol. II of The Expositor's Greek Testament; New York: George H. Doran Company, n.d.), p. 632.

Since the earliest Christian baptism was by immersion of believers, the first-century Christians remembered vividly their own experience of baptism and they--or at least some--noticed the likeness of the stages of baptism to the fate of their Lord.¹²⁷

Moreover, when men truly realize the mercy of God offered in the death and resurrection of Christ, they may appropriate this grace by a response of faith.¹²⁸ There is nothing automatic about baptism. But "the only thing that counts is faith inspired by love" (Gal. 5:6, N.E.B.). It is through faith that Christ takes up His abode in the believer's heart (Eph. 3:14). According to Colossians 2:12, by faith and by baptism the believer has become united to Christ in a way and to a degree which involves his having died with Christ and been raised with Christ to new life.

In his presentation of baptism as the beginning of a new life through union with Christ, Paul declares: "we who died to sin . . . have been united with him in a death like his . . ." and "our old self was crucified with him so that the sinful body might be destroyed and we might no longer be enslaved to sin" (Rom. 6:2, 5, 6). It is not the body, biologically speaking, which is killed, but the body as the seat of sin, the unregenerate self. In this way, the convert passes out of

127. A. Deissmann, Paul, pp. 182-183. J. Weiss, The History of Primitive Christianity, I, 172-173.

128. C.A.A. Scott, Christianity according to St. Paul, p. 98, see also pp. 99-122. W. D. Davies [Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 98-99] deals with A. Schweitzer's view [Paul and His Interpreters, p. 225] of dying and rising with Christ by showing its inadequacy lies in its failure to give proper weight to the role which faith plays in Paul's teaching. Cf. J.A.T. Robinson, The Body, p. 79, n. 1.

the reign of sin and enters into the reign of righteousness where he is commanded to fight earnestly against sin. Being united [*σύνϕυτος*] with Christ suggests that just as a limb becomes grafted into the life of a tree so the Christian becomes "grafted into" Christ. Paul recalls the meaning of baptism to the minds of his readers to show that a Christian is one who at a particular moment died.¹²⁹ Then, the image of burial (6:4) is included so that the argument about death to sin will be given due emphasis.

In Romans 6 and Colossians 2 dying and being buried with Christ is described in connection with baptism. Paul explains that baptism makes possible the participation of the believer in the death of Christ in anticipation of resurrection with Christ. This unique manner of thinking is not just an image but a description of a reality of the present. In dying and rising with Christ, the false ego of the individual finds its end there and his spiritual life has its beginning. Since the chief emphasis of the Hellenistic religions was not moral and ethical, the entire trend of this Pauline thought speaks out against connecting Christian baptism with the mystery religions.¹³⁰

In the Pauline epistles, the man who emerges from the baptismal water is the same as the one who was plunged into it, except that he is

129. The use of the aorist of *ἀποθνῆσκειν* in Romans 6:2 means point action and suggests that Paul probably has a definite moment in mind. Cf. also Galatians 5:24 in G. S. Duncan, The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians (M.N.T.C.; New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1934), p. 176.

130. W. F. Flemington, op. cit., p. 78. A. D. Nock, "Early Gentile Christianity and Its Hellenistic Background," p. 116. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 91. C. H. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, p. 92.

dead to sin and alive to God. This does not mean that he becomes sinlessly perfect,¹³¹ but it connotes that he is no longer enslaved to sin (Rom. 6:6, 15-23). To enforce his point even further, Paul suggests that the believer is freed from the bondage to sin as a power and a ruler. By the work of Christ, sin is vanquished. In this way, sin no longer has dominion over those who through faith belong to Christ. The believer has found another Lord, to whom he stands in obedience. For the same reason, Paul can say to the Christians: you are no longer enslaved to sin (Rom. 6:6); therefore, fight against sin (6:12). For Paul, the death to sin signifies that the power of sin over the believer is broken and he begins to share the risen life.

To further enforce his point, Paul suggests that just as going down into the baptismal water symbolized a sort of burial, so coming up out of the water represents a sort of resurrection. By Christ's resurrection, the believer is thus restored to new life and this quickening takes place here and now although as yet in a hidden manner (2 Cor. 4:10 ff.). By being "baptized into Christ" (Rom. 6:3), the person is incorporated into Christ's death and resurrection which brings about an entirely new life. In other words, the believer thereby is made a member of the Body of Christ (Rom. 12:4-5). Man is not at present magically transformed into a celestial being, but by union with Christ he shares in the victory of Jesus Christ over death.¹³² By being incorporated into Christ, a new

131. As R. Reitzenstein [Die hellenistischen Mysterien-religionen, pp. 259-260] asserts. On the other hand, compare Anders Nygren, Commentary on Romans, pp. 240-245. Cf. I Corinthians 3:1-3.

132. O. Cullmann, "The Proleptic Deliverance of the Body according to the New Testament," The Early Church, p. 168.

solidarity is begun which is continually being built up between the believers and Christ (2 Cor. 3:18). This gradual transformation of the believer from baptism onwards shows that the final resurrection is a triumphant completion of that which has gone on before. To those who belong to Christ God "has set his seal upon us, and as a pledge

(ἀρραβών) of what is to come has given the Spirit to dwell in our hearts" (II Cor. 1:22, N.E.B.). The ones who have received the glorious liberty of the children of God have "the first fruits"

(ἀπαρχή) of the Spirit" as they wait for the final redemption at the parousia (Rom. 8:23). By union with Christ's death the believer "shall be united" (future tense) with Christ in a resurrection like his (Rom. 6:5). In this sense baptism is an anticipation of the believer's final destiny. Although Romans 6 is primarily concerned with the new life in this age, the emphasis in verse 5 also seems to include the resurrection at the end of this age. Only at the consummation of this age will the effects of the resurrection of Jesus both for individual believers and for humanity as a whole be seen in their full extent.¹³³

133. II Corinthians 4:16 f. J.A.T. Robinson, The Body, p. 81.

II. NEW CREATION

According to Paul, becoming a Christian means a radical separation from the type of life which a person has lived formerly. A person's life prior to entering the faith has an entirely different set of values from those held by a true Christian. To Paul a person's pre-Christian status is to be contrasted with his Christian life in the same way as death is to life (Ephesians 2:1, 5), as despair is to hope (2:12), and as darkness is to light (5:8). With this estimate of both conditions of life, it is implied that the previous life is insufficient and obsolete; whereas, now that which is new has come.

The distinction between the previous existence and the life after conversion is described by Paul through the use of some significant metaphors. Two of these are related to each other and will be considered in this section and in the following section of this chapter. They are the Apostle's thought concerning new creation and renewal. Of course, it shall become evident that he sometimes employs two different figures of speech in one passage of his letters. For this reason, one portion of a passage will be emphasized in connection with the topic of one section, while another portion of the same passage will be stressed in another section. For the sake of systematic treatment, the related metaphors will be grouped together.

Under the topic of new creation two basic ideas must be considered. One is the concept of the "new man" and the other is that of

καὶνὴ κτίσις

THE NEW MAN

Paul's concepts of the old and the new man are used as a vivid contrast to present the idea of the new creation. The thought of the "new man" occurs in four passages: Ephesians 2:14-16, Colossians 3:9-11, Ephesians 2:10, and Ephesians 4:22-24. As the discussion progresses the reason for this order of treatment will become apparent.

Ephesians 2:14-16

One passage which speaks of the creating of the new man is found in Ephesians 2:14-16:

For he is our peace, who has made us both one and has broken down the dividing wall of hostility, (15) by abolishing in his flesh the law of commandments and ordinances, that he might create in himself one new man in place of the two, so making peace, (16) and might reconcile us both to God in one body through the cross, thereby bringing the hostility to an end.

According to this passage, the enmity in the world was changed for the Christian to peace because of the transformation made possible through Christ. In Christ men are no longer split up into exclusive systems because He has made them into a unity.¹ When men are in Christ or with Christ² there are no longer hostilities which stand like a dividing wall³

1. Cf. $\alpha\mu\phi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ $\overset{\text{ἐν}}{\text{Αὐτὸς}}$ $\gammaάρ$. . . $\delta\acute{\omicron}$ $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ $\tauὰ$
(Ephesians 2:14).

2. Ephesians 2:10 and 2:5-6, respectively. In I Corinthians 1:9 there is a related idea: "you were called into the fellowship of his son."

3. This term probably refers to the stone balustrade which separated the court of the Gentiles from the inner court of the Temple. Cf. Walter Lock, The Epistle to the Ephesians (Westminster Commentaries. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1929), p. 32.

between men, because they are made into one new man. The distinction between Jew and Gentile, therefore, is no longer valid in Paul's interpretation of Christianity.

Since both Jews and Gentiles were dead through their trespasses (Eph. 2:5), it was necessary that both be reconciled to God (2:16). The Gentiles did not have to become Jews or vice versa, but they both were made anew spiritually. It was through the work of Christ that peace was effected between Jew and Gentile, and that men were given access to the heavenly Father (2:14, 18). It is also added in Ephesians 2:16 that the two kinds of men were reconciled "both to God in one body through the cross." The "one body" refers to the fact that those who are reconciled to God through the Cross become a part of the Body of Christ, the Church.⁴

This change in the relationship of men to God implies that something new has happened. The important thought is expressed in the words ἵνα τοὺς δύο κτίσῃ ἐν αὐτῷ
εἰς ἓνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον (Ephesians 2:15).

It should be noted that the word κτίσειν in this verse as well as in Ephesians 2:10 and 4:24 specifically designates "the divine operation on the soul."⁵ Here the term refers to God's creative activity in Christ Jesus with regard to the inner life of man. The combination of κτίσειν with καινός --occurring in Ephesians only in this verse-- exhibits the fact that the concept of the new creation is taught here.

4. J.A.T. Robinson, The Body, pp. 47 f.

5. G. Abbott-Smith, A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament (third edition; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1937), p. 260. Cf. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, op. cit., p. 456.

God shows His concern for man and his destiny by making possible this new creation through Christ. Paul is saying that there has been a fresh beginning in the history of the human race by which the old division separating men is eliminated, and the unity of mankind is restored.⁶

With this in mind, Paul demonstrates that neither circumcision nor uncircumcision was of value, but the important matter was that both Jews and Gentiles might be created into one new man in Christ. Due to the fact that the new humanity is created "in himself" (Eph. 2:15), Christ becomes the center of the united, new humanity.

The creation which is referred to here is analogous, to the first creation of God because it is "God's handiwork" [ποίημα].⁷ However, Christ is described here as the agent of this act of new creation. There had been two types of men (Jew and Gentile), but Christ had made out of the twain a τρίτον γένος which is neither Jew nor Gentile but is a single new humanity in himself.⁸ These Gentiles could well remember when those of "the Circumcision" called them "the Uncircumcision." Yet now for Jews as well as Gentiles who came into the community of the new covenant there was effected a spiritual circumcision which is the real circumcision and is a matter of the heart.⁹ There is

6. J. Armitage Robinson, St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, p. 53.

7. Ephesians 2:10, N.E.B. Even Ephesians 3:9 speaks of "God who created all things."

8. G. Lindeskog, "Förnyelse, nyskapelse, nyfödelse," p. 18. In addition, the Christians are called καινὸν γένος in The Epistle to Diognetus 1 (The Loeb Classical Library).

9. E. J. Goodspeed, The Meaning of Ephesians (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933), p. 35. Vide supra on Colossians 2:4-7 in the section entitled "Spiritual Resurrection" in this chapter.

created here an entirely different conception of humanity. The $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$
 $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\tau\omicron\nu$ in Ephesians 2:15 refers to the new humanity
 which is ultimately the true Church.¹⁰ The emphatic "he" in 2:14 demonstrates
 that Christ Himself is the basis upon which the new unity is established.
 Moreover, E. F. Scott¹¹ holds that Ephesians 2:15 implies that Christ
 becomes the prototype of the new humanity. Therefore, Christ is the Adam
 of a new kind of humanity.

Colossians 3:9-11

A similar thought concerning Christ as the creator of the new
 humanity¹² is found in a passage of Paul's letter to the Colossians:

. . . you have put off the old nature with its practices
 (10) and have put on the new nature which is being renewed
 in knowledge after the image of its creator. (11) Here
 there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised,
 barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man, but Christ is all, and
 in all. (Col. 3:9-11)

In verse 11 of this passage, the idea is presented again that the
 new creation brings about the restoration of the unity of humanity. The
 idea of the oneness of man is set forth in the story of creation in the

10. Johannes Behm, op. cit., T.W.N.T., III, 452. Cf. Walter Lock, The Epistle to the Ephesians, p. 32.

11. The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon and to the Ephesians, p. 172. Cf. T. K. Abbott, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, p. 65.

12. Also, in the Johannine literature there is a passage which reads: "And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and said to them, 'Receive the Holy Spirit'" (John 20:22). Concerning this verse in John, C. K. Barrett [The Gospel According to St. John (London: S.P.C.K., 1955), p. 454] states: "That John intended to depict an event of significance parallel to that of the first creation of man cannot be doubted; this was the beginning of the new creation."

Old Testament. However, according to the Genesis account, there came about through sin a division of mankind which is seen in the narrative concerning the building of the tower of Babel (Genesis 11). On the other hand, in the new creation of the New Testament the barriers that divide men cannot exist. Within the community of the new creation, men are brought together in a new oneness which is more radical than has been previously known because "Christ is all, and in all."¹³ A similar thought is presented in Galatians 3:28: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus." Here Paul emphasizes that beneath all the differences of race, class and even sex, they "are all one in Christ Jesus." In Paul's letter to Philemon it is evident that the master and servant relationship of function remains even when both are Christians although it is significantly modified because both are brothers in the Lord. In Colossians it appears that the responsibility of social function remains but the distinction of class is destroyed because all men are brothers in Christ.¹⁴ Thus, within this new state of life in Christ the barriers that divide humanity are obliterated.¹⁵

Another aspect of this Colossians passage is evident in Paul's suggestion about the creation of a new humanity by use of the figure of putting on the new nature. He writes, "you have put off the old nature

13. Cf. J. B. Lightfoot, Saint Paul's Epistle to the Colossians and to Philemon (1904), pp. 216 f. F. F. Bruce, "Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians," pp. 274 f.

14. Ernest Best, One Body in Christ, p. 27.

15. George S. Duncan, The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, p. 124.

[ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον]

with its practices and have put on the new nature [ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον]." The metaphor of "putting on" is a vividly descriptive

expression used by Paul; however, it was already current in the Old

Testament and Judaism.¹⁶ The use of the aorist participles here can be

taken as a part of the exhortation, "lie not . . . put off . . . and

put on." Yet, they are more likely to be translated as the motive for

the preceding exhortation.¹⁷ Thereby, the meaning would be: do not

continue to lie because you have put off the old nature and have put on the new.

This use of the figure of changing one's garments signifies a much deeper change. It means a complete renovation in the inmost being of the person who is unclothed and reclad.¹⁸ The contrasting terms "the old man

16. O. Procksch ["Wiederkehr und Wiedergeburt," p. 12] declares that the metaphor of "putting on" in this passage comes from the mystery religions. On the other hand, according to W. L. Knox [St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, p. 138], the use of this metaphor does not necessarily demonstrate that Paul was dependent here upon the mystery cults because the same metaphor was already familiar in the language of Judaism. Moreover, in the Old Testament there is the figure of clothing oneself with salvation (Isaiah 61:10; cf. 59:17). Actually, the idea of clothing oneself is so common in everyday life that Paul need not be dependent upon any of these sources. Cf. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 105.

17. Compare A. S. Peake, "The Epistle of Paul to the Colossians," op. cit., III, 539. T. K. Abbott, op. cit., p. 283. A. T. Robertson, op. cit., IV, 502. F. W. Beare, "The Epistle to the Colossians," p. 212. Colossians 3:10 appears to be from a primitive Christian catechism. Cf. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 123.

18. E. F. Scott, The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon and to the Ephesians, p. 68. This thought may also be the implication of the Prodigal Son returning to receive the best robe (Luke 15:22). Vide the treatment of Luke 15:11-32 in the section entitled "A Metaphor of Spiritual Resurrection," Chapter III. The use of the verb "to put off" in Colossians 3:10 is a forceful expression which gives much the same effect as "our old man was crucified with him" (Romans 6:6). Cf. F. F. Bruce, "Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians," p. 272, n. 61.

and the new" denote that there is a re-creation of the entire personality, a thoroughgoing renewal of will. The aorist participle ἐνδυσάμενοι may even suggest that the "putting-on" is a thing to be done once for all.¹⁹ While the Colossian epistle uses the term νέος at this point to refer to the "new man," the word καινός is employed in the parallel verse of Ephesians 4:24: "put on the new nature" [καινὸν ἄνθρωπον]. Generally, νέος opposes the old from the point of view of time while καινός is from that of quality. In this case, however, Roy A. Harrisville²⁰ appears to be correct in stating that both νέος and καινός are synonymous in these two passages. Accordingly, both terms have qualitative significance here and refer to the character of existence.

The figure of "putting on" is also found in Galatians 3:27: "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ"

[Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσαθε]. This usage, according to E. D. Burton,²¹ denotes that one who is baptized into Christ enters

19. J. B. Lightfoot, Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon (third edition), p. 215. T. K. Abbott, op. cit., p. 283.

20. The Concept of Newness in the New Testament, pp. 7 ff. Vide his full argument and investigation. On the other hand, Johannes Behm [op. cit., T.W.N.T., III, p. 451, n. 15] endeavors to avoid the difficulty. He points out that the parallelism of νέος in Colossians 3:10 and καινός in Ephesians 4:24 demonstrates that both the thought of the new kind and that of the new time in which Christ stands dwell close together and complete each other. Compare a different solution to the problem in J. B. Lightfoot, Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, p. 215.

21. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, p. 204. Cf. Romans 13:14.

into a relationship to God similar to that relationship which Christ sustains to God. The word $\epsilon ν δ υ ε ι ν$ with its personal object $\chi ρ ι σ τ ο ς$ means that the man of faith takes on the character of Christ. Therefore, when a person is united to Christ, he becomes so thoroughly identified with Christ, that it is no longer he who lives, it is Christ who lives in him.²²

Although the idea of putting on Christ occurs in the third chapter of Galatians, this does not mean that the "new man" which is said to be put on in Colossians 3:10 should be thought of as completely equal to the term "Christ."²³ Yet, the "new man" probably includes the meaning that the believer puts on the Second Adam in becoming a member of the church.²⁴ There may be a hint that the antithesis between the "old man" and the "new" has an underlying relationship to the thought of the "natural man" being "in Adam" and the "spiritual man" being "in Christ." However, to make the "new man" in Colossians 3:10 entirely synonymous with the word "Christ" would conflict with the basic meaning of the passage, which is that everyone should submit to God so that they might be changed from being the old man and become the Christ-man. Therefore, the "new man" probably

22. George S. Duncan, The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, p. 123.

23. Martin Dibelius, An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon (Vol. 12 of H.Z.N.T.; second edition; Tübingen: J.D.B. Mohr, 1927), p. 32. Cf. T. K. Abbott, op. cit., p. 284. A. S. Peake, "The Epistle of Paul to the Colossians," op. cit., III, 539.

24. C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 121.

refers both to a new personality for the convert and to the fact that Christ is formed within.²⁵

The real significance of Colossians 3:9-11 in this discussion is its relation to the concept of the new man. Paul affirms that it is necessary to put off the habits of your old life because you have been transformed in your inward nature. Now become what you are! In other words, what has taken place in principle must be brought about in practice.²⁶ "Put to death therefore what is earthly in you . . . and put on the new nature". . . . Put on then, as God's chosen ones, holy and beloved, compassion, kindness, lowliness, meekness, and patience" (Col. 3:5, 10, 12).

Ephesians 2:10

Of course, an individual is not created anew except it come as a gift of God. Paul asserts that it is through faith that one is saved; however, at the same time, salvation is bestowed upon us by God and not the result of works so no individual has any reason to boast (Eph. 2:8-9). No man merits salvation. The Apostle emphasizes that the newly created man is the product of God's work when he proclaims:

For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared beforehand, that we should walk in them. (Eph. 2:10)

The verse begins αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἔσμεν ποίημα with the pronoun in the emphatic position to stress the fact that it is God who

25. F. F. Bruce, "Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians," pp. 272 f.

26. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 101.

carries out the creative activity.²⁷ The truth is that God has not only created man at the primeval creation but He also re-creates man spiritually in the present when a person commits himself completely to God. To be made anew is not attained by man's effort, it comes only through the grace of God. So Paul can say, "For we are God's creation" (ποίημα). It is possible for one to be made a Christian only by the work of God's hand upon him. God's work in the new creation, therefore, could certainly be described by the psalmist's words: "It is he that made us, and not we ourselves."²⁸

While Ephesians 2:10 speaks of "God's handiwork" (ποίημα), it is made clear by the words which immediately follow that the reference is not to the first creation, but to the new creation. However, the terms probably express an analogy to the first creation.²⁹ The thought of the verse suggests God's creative activity in reference to men who were created in Christ Jesus for good deeds. The expression ΚΤΙΣΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤῳ Ἰησοῦ is used here to define the fact that when a person becomes a new man he is changed completely and is brought into union with Christ.³⁰ Only because of the fact that they have been "created in

27. B. F. Westcott, Saint Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1906), p. 33.

28. Psalm 100:3. Cf. Ephesians 3:9. J. Armitage Robinson, St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, p. 52.

29. T. K. Abbott, op. cit., p. 53.

30. The formula "in Christ" will be treated later in connection with II Corinthians 5:17.

Christ Jesus" are they able to have true fellowship with God.³¹

Not only does this passage teach the idea of the creation of the new man, but it also demonstrates that when one is created anew spiritually there are certain ethical responsibilities which are required of him. A man is created afresh "for good works which God prepared beforehand that we should walk [*περιπατήσωμεν*] in them."³² Just previously Paul declared that the new life is not attained by works, now he appears to say that completely unselfish good works are not possible until one has been made afresh in Christ. The passage implies that after men are re-created spiritually they have the ability to know and do God's will. The "good works" are not the goal of the new creation, but they are involved in it as an essential result. These good deeds are the true works of the men who have been created in Christ, but, at the same time, they are of God's making.³³ God has appointed beforehand the walk of life which the believers were to follow and this course of life was to devote themselves to good deeds.

Ephesians 4:22-24

Another significant passage which presents the idea of ethical responsibility as a consequence of the creation of the new man is found

31. Albrecht Oepke, " *ἐν* ," T.W.N.T., II, 537.

32. Paul also uses the same verb *περιπατεῖν* in Romans 6:4 to assert that after our spiritual resurrection "we too might walk in newness of life."

33. B. F. Westcott, Saint Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, p. 33. Cf. E. F. Scott, The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon and to the Ephesians, p. 166.

in the fourth chapter of Ephesians:

Put off your old nature which belongs to your former manner of life and is corrupt through deceitful lusts, (23) and be renewed in the spirit of your minds, (24) and put on the new nature, created after the likeness of God in true righteousness and holiness. (4:22-24)

The structure of the paragraph is difficult, but its meaning becomes apparent by realizing that Paul assumes that his readers have already "learned Christ" (4:20 f.). Also, since the first of the paragraph declares, "I affirm and testify . . . that you must no longer walk as the Gentiles do . . ." (4:17), it is likely that the three infinitives--"put off" (aorist), "be renewed" (present), and "put on" (aorist) (4:22-24)--are parallel in structure with the infinitive "to walk" in verse 17 and likewise have imperative force.³⁴

As Christians they must "put away the old nature" [ἀποθέσθαι... τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον]. This is similar to what is said in Colossians 3:9-10 where the Apostle tells them that they must lay aside their old habits, just as they would discard outworn clothes.³⁵ Moreover, the thought of this Ephesian passage can be compared to what is recorded in Romans 6:6: "our old self [ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος] was crucified with him so that the sinful body might be destroyed."³⁶

Yet, the situation in Ephesians is that the "old nature," the whole character representing the former self, keeps decaying from the deceitful

34. J. Behm, "ἀναγενέω," T.W.N.T., IV, 904. This passage is also thought to be from a primitive Christian catechism. Cf. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 123.

35. Much of what has already been considered in reference to Colossians 3:9-10 should be understood as applying to this parallel passage in Ephesians.

36. Vide supra at the section on "Romans 6:1-11" in this chapter.

power of sin. In order to remedy this a new creation was required. Paul declares that the new life can be realized only when the old man is put off once and for all.³⁷ This action is the stripping off of man in revolt or the man we were before our confrontation with Christ. The thought of laying aside the old man has a great deal of consequences in reference to behavior.

The last part of this passage speaks of the newly-made man and of the ethical outgrowth of the new life. According to Paul, they "must put on the new nature [ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον] of God's creating which shows itself in the just and devout life called for by the truth."³⁸ They have now passed into a new moral condition in which the old passions and vices are to have no place. When the new nature is put on, a radical change of personality takes place which affects the moral life of the person involved. Moreover, just as was mentioned in reference to Colossians 3:10, the "putting on the new man" in Ephesians 4:24 probably includes the fact that Christ is formed with the convert. In a sense, Christ grows within the believer and reigns in his heart.³⁹

It is important to notice that the reference is to the new man

37. B. F. Westcott, Saint Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, p. 67.
E. K. Simpson, "Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians," p. 105.

38. Ephesians 4:24, N.E.B. A. M. Hunter [Paul and His Predecessors, p. 66] comments that this passage "means that baptized Christians are 'ensphered' in the corporate Christ; i.e., the corporate community which represents him."

39. E. K. Simpson, "Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians," p. 106.

"which was created after God" [τὸν κατὰ θεὸν
κτισθέντα]. The "new man" was created once and for all according
to the will of God.⁴⁰ Therefore, the believer has been recast after a new
pattern. He is a new creature with renewed desires and goals. Paul adds
that this creation was "in righteousness and holiness of truth" to show
that the Christian must separate himself from the "lusts of deceit." The
Apostle appears to recall the Genesis creation narrative which describes
how man was created first without sin. It seems to be suggested that
the righteous and devout life which was his in the primeval era now was
restored to man through Christ.⁴¹ The qualities of life which are given
to those who are created anew through Christ are righteous dealings with
their fellow men and holy obedience to God. Therefore, those who have
"put on the new nature" are to be doing such things as "putting away
falsehood, . . . do not let the sun go down on your anger, and give no
opportunity to the devil" (Eph. 4:25-27). Thus clothed with the "new
man," believers must live an ethical life that is worthy of the calling
to which they have been called.

KAINH KΤΙΣΙΣ

Having considered in the foregoing passages the idea of creating
the "new man," we turn to study the Pauline teaching about καὶνὴ
κτίσις . This designation occurs in two significant passages,
II Corinthians 5:17 and Galatians 6:15.

⁴⁰. T. K. Abbott, op. cit., pp. 136 and 138. S.D.F. Salmond, "The
Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians," op. cit., III, 344. F. W. Beare, "The
Epistle to the Ephesians" (Exegetical Commentary), I. B., X, 699.

⁴¹. E. F. Scott, The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon
and to the Ephesians, pp. 219 f.

II Corinthians 5:17

This key passage reads as follows in the Greek:

ὥστε ἐί τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ
κτίσις . τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν,
ἰδοὺ γίγονεν καινὰ.

Just prior to this verse Paul has affirmed that Christ died and was raised for the sake of all men of all races (2 Cor. 5:15). Now the thought is presented that one of the results of Christ's vicarious ministry is that men who are "in Christ" can be made new creatures. With this statement in mind, it is important to know what being "in Christ" means. Since the expression "in Christ" has importance in relation to this passage of Second Corinthians as well as a definite place of significance in Pauline theology, it is worthwhile to treat the subject at this point of our study.

The Phrase "In Christ." The formula "in Christ" is one of the most characteristic expressions of Paul's Christianity. It suggests a personal relationship between Christ and the Christians at the most profound level. Ever since Adolf Deissmann wrote the small book entitled Die neutestamentliche Formel 'in Christo Jesu',⁴² there has been a great deal of interest in and discussion about this subject.⁴³ According to

42. Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche, 1892.

43. Among the body of literature on the subject, see A.E.J. Rawlingson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ, pp. 155-160; Vincent Taylor, Forgiveness and Reconciliation, pp. 113-116; Adolf Deissmann, Paul, pp. 135-157; J. Weiss, The History of Primitive Christianity, II, 463-471, esp. p. 468, n. 22. Ernest Best, One Body in Christ, pp. 1-33. Albrecht Oepke, op. cit., T.W.N.T., II, 537-539.

Deissmann, the expression "in Christ" or "in the Lord" occurs 164 times in the Pauline Epistles.⁴⁴ In this number of occurrences, it appears in a variety of uses and applications. Because the formula is found in a variety of contexts, it has a certain amount of elasticity and a consequent variety of at least shades of meaning. Nevertheless, there is a general explanation of the term. Actually, the phrase appears to be a brief and compact expression presenting Paul's idea of faith in Christ. It sums up the Apostle's view "of the ultimate basis of being a Christian and of the life which follows."⁴⁵ The formula "in Christ" is the commonest expression of Paul's doctrine of the union of the Christian with Christ.⁴⁶ There are some passages which describe the believer as being in Christ, while others speak of Christ dwelling in the believer. In addition to II Corinthians 5:17, another example of the believer being "in Christ" is found in the text: "you are in Christ Jesus by God's act, for God has made him our wisdom; he is our righteousness; in him we are consecrated and set free" (I Cor. 1:30, N.E.B.). Here it is said that God brings about the communion with Christ. An illustration of the idea of Christ being

44. Die neutestamentliche Formel 'in Christo Jesu', p. 1. However, Deissmann does not include Ephesians, Colossians or the Pastoral Epistles in his calculation. If these epistles were included, the formula could be numbered nearly 240 times.

45. J.K.S. Reid, "The Phrase 'in Christ'," Theology Today, XVII (October, 1960), 364.

46. Therefore, what has already been written in the earlier section of this chapter entitled "Paul's Mysticism" should be thought of as a background of that which shall be considered at this time. Cf. A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, p. 123.

in the believer is seen in II Corinthians 13:5: "Examine yourselves, to see whether you are holding to your faith. Test yourselves. Do you not realize that Jesus Christ is in you?" Moreover, whether Christ lives in the believer or the Spirit dwells in him, the reference is to the same experience.⁴⁷ For this reason, I Corinthians 3:16 asserts: "Do you not know that you are God's temple and that God's Spirit dwells in you?" The experience of being in Christ signifies that the life-giving power of Jesus Christ rests upon the believer to fill him with energy and rule within him.

The concept of being "in Christ" refers to the personal experience of being in the most intimate union with the living Lord.⁴⁸ The believer receives a new mode of existence in which he knows that he has found the salvation of God. This mystical union is an intimate religious intercourse between the believer and the Risen Christ. Professor Elias Andrews maintains: "We may well be certain, therefore, that his [Paul's] numerous references to the experience of being 'in Christ' are sufficient proof that this was the focal point around which all his religion revolved, the very heart of Christianity as he understood it."⁴⁹

To be "in Christ" means the identification of oneself so fully with Christ that He makes the inner spiritual self, having to do with the hidden spring of goodness, come alive. This is made possible when

47. C.A.A.Scott, Christianity according to St. Paul, p. 153. Cf. W. Wrede, Paul, p. 119.

48. A. Deissmann, Paul, p. 140.

49. "Heart of Christianity: The Meaning and Implications for Life of the Pauline Expression 'in Christ'," Interpretation, VI (1952), 163. Likewise, J. S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 147.

the believer surrenders himself in trust and total commitment to Jesus Christ, the crucified and risen Lord. Then, the believers are brought into "newness of life," whereby, they receive sonship to God and imitate Christ in Godlike action. "I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me" (Gal. 2:20). Paul's language should not be construed as referring to an absorption into Christ.⁵⁰ The distinction between the believer and Christ is made evident because the experience is qualified by the Apostle's notion of faith. Yet, in Paul's mysticism there is the closest possible communion of Christ and the believers, without the fusion of personalities. Finally, it should be remembered, Bultmann⁵¹ declares, that a congregation can be said to be "in Christ," that the phrase has eschatological meaning, and that it can refer to the state of being of the individual believer whose life is determined by Christ. In this concept, Paul has shown that the en Christo experience makes one a part of the eschatological community of love,⁵² wherein there is a mystical fellowship with Christ and an unreserved, self-forgetting surrender of the whole man to the Master.

Having said all of this, we come now to say that, according to J. Weiss,⁵³ the full mystical meaning of "in Christ" is exemplified in

50. Wilhelm Bousset, Kyrios Christos, p. 115.

51. Theology of the New Testament, I, 311 f., 327-329. Compare I Thessalonians 1:1 and II Corinthians 12:2. See W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 86 f.

52. John Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1950), p. 113.

53. The History of Primitive Christianity, II, 468, n. 22.

its use in II Corinthians 5:17. Immediately preceding this verse, Paul has written, "I am controlled by the love of Christ, convinced that as one has died for all, then all have died" (2 Cor. 5:14). Thus he alludes to the idea of union with Christ through dying and rising with Him. This teaching was presented in the sixth chapter of Romans.⁵⁴ The event of Christ's death and resurrection is God's creative act for the salvation of the world. Paul and all Christians are permitted to share in the results of Christ's Ministry. According to II Corinthians 5:14-17, if the converts have died with Christ to their old selves and have risen with Him to a new life, they share His spiritual life and are in Him. By the words "one has died for all; therefore all have died" (II Cor. 5:14), Paul considers Christ as the representative of the human race. What happened to Christ happened to all.⁵⁵ From the time of His death any man who turned to Him in faith would be transformed into an incorruptible life.

In verse 17 the Apostle presents the thought of union with Christ by using the formula "in Christ." This expression suggests that a vital personal relationship has been established between God and the believer. Then, Paul goes on to define the phrase "in Christ" as it is used here by declaring that the condition of being in Christ is the coming into existence in a new creation. This concept of new creation deserves special attention.

54. Vide supra in the section on "Romans 6:1-11" in this chapter.

55. W. Wrede, Paul, p. 99. Cf. R. H. Strachan, The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, p. 114.

The Designation καὶνὴ κτίσις. In order to consider the designation καὶνὴ κτίσις it is wise to ground this discussion in the basic meaning of the word κτίσις. Of the eleven uses of the term κτίσις in Paul's letters, it is necessary to translate it as "creature" or "created thing" in only one passage.⁵⁶ In the other ten uses, the term carries the connotation of "creation." However, even when it is translated "creation," the content of the term in each context is important.

The word κτίσις is a nominal derivative of κτίσιν and it places emphasis upon the action in the creating or forming of the thing. In addition, the thing shaped in its new form is without exact precedent.⁵⁷ This word is used in the New Testament either as a verbal noun meaning "act of creation" or as a concrete noun equivalent to κτίσμα meaning "that which is created." Its significance as a concrete noun can refer either individually, to "a created person or thing," or collectively, to the sum of created things.⁵⁸

56. Romans 8:39. Cf. E. D. Burton, op. cit., p. 356. Opposed by Otto Procksch, op. cit., p. 12, n. 1. The translation of the term is often divided between "creature" and "creation" in some of the other passages as is seen in various translators and writers of commentaries. Notice, for example, that the translation preferred by W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich [op. cit., p. 457] as well as E. Stauffer [New Testament Theology, p. 141] for II Corinthians 5:17 is "creature" and Karl Barth [The Epistle to the Romans, p. 51] translates the term "creature" in Romans 1:25.

57. Werner Foerster, "κτίσις," T.W.N.T., III, 1028.

58. Herman Cremer, Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek, trans. Wm. Urwick (fourth English edition; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895), p. 381. J. H. Thayer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament (New York: American Book Company, 1889), p. 363. E. D. Burton, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, p. 356.

In some cases, the term refers to mankind alone, and in others it includes the whole material universe. In the New Testament, it is always the creative act of God or the product of God's creative action in the natural or the spiritual realm.⁵⁹

The feminine adjective *καινὴ* means "new" in contrast to something old. It is that which in comparison with others is new and peculiar.⁶⁰ In the New Testament the word "new" has a special terminological significance with Christological and eschatological connotations.⁶¹ The word expresses a newness in quality which is better than the old. It "always implies superiority to that which is not *καινός*."⁶² The term refers to the idea that what is old has become obsolete and should be replaced by what is new. Moreover, the word connotes the idea of renewal⁶³ so it could indicate the renovation of a thing or the state of being renovated.

Taking into consideration what has been said about the specific term, it is to be expected that the combined term *καινὴ κτίσις* (*kainē ktisis*) would be a very strong designation. In fact, Alfred

59. W. E. Vine, An Expository Dictionary of New Testament Words (London: Oliphants, Ltd., 1940), I, 255.

60. J. Behm, op. cit., T.W.N.T., III, 450.

61. Compare, for example, the section above on "The Concept of Newness" in "The Synoptic Gospels," Chapter III.

62. A. Plummer, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians (I.C.C.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1915), p. 85.

63. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, op. cit., p. 395.

Plummer⁶⁴ declares that *καινή κτίσις* is "a stronger expression than *μεταμορβούμεθα* (II Cor. 3:18; Rom. 12:2), or *παλιγγενεσία* (Tit. 3:5), though it means much the same as the latter." In the New Testament, *kainē ktisis* is found only in II Corinthians 5:17 and Galatians 6:15. The designation expresses the idea of a new or renovated creation. In II Corinthians 5:17 it appears to connote a meaning in reference to this age and also to the age to come. Furthermore, the idea probably refers to those of mankind who will submit to God's rule in Christ and in a sense to the whole irrational creation.⁶⁵ An explanation of these matters will be brought out in the following discussion.

First, the context of II Corinthians 5:17 demonstrates that the Apostle has reference to the new creation as it relates to man in this present age. In this case, *kainē ktisis* is used to refer to "the converted man" who is newly created by God.⁶⁶ The logical progression of thought must be seen in order to grasp what Paul is trying to

64. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, p. 180.

65. G. Abbott-Smith, A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament, p. 260. Comp. W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, op. cit., pp. 210 ff. in the note on "The Renovation of Nature." The meaning of "new creation" in II Corinthians 5:17 should be compared with II Corinthians 4:6: "For it is the God who said, 'Let light shine out of darkness', who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ" and with Genesis 1:3: "And God said, 'Let there be light'; and there was light." Vide L. S. Thornton, op. cit., p. 284. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 37.

66. G. A. Deissmann, The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul, p. 225.

communicate. The Apostle has just said that Christ has died for all (II Cor. 5:14 f.). The intention of Christ's death is that believers "might live no longer for themselves but for him who for their sake died and was raised" (vs. 15). A twofold result of Christ's death is presented here which is made evident by the use of ⁶⁷ ὥστε in verses 16 and 17 in order to connect these two verses to verse 15. One result is that one is no longer "to know" Christ according to the norm of "the flesh" but is to concentrate his faith upon Jesus Christ the risen Lord.⁶⁷ The other result is kainē ktisis. Then, the connection between the death of Christ and the regeneration of the Christian is made when Paul writes the words ⁶⁸ εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ. The word "anyone" (τις) refers to the individual. In order to appropriate the effect of Christ's death, the individual must be "in Christ." And being "in Christ" means belonging to Christ and to the community of the new covenant, which is His Body. The effect of Christ's death which is being emphasized here is kainē ktisis.

This thought is stressed in Moffatt's translation: "There is a new creation whenever a man comes to be in Christ." This does not mean just a heightening of the powers already possessed, but the formation of an entirely new element in the sharp sudden emergence of an entirely new sense of "creation."⁶⁹ If one has died with Christ, he begins

67. R. H. Strachan, The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, pp. 111 f.

68. Deissmann, Die neutestamentliche Formel 'in Christo Jesu', p. 108.

69. J. S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 193. Cf. J. Behm, " ἀνὰ καὶ νέωσις ", T.W.N.T., III, 455.

to share the spiritual life of Christ. In order to point out the change wrought thereby it is necessary to look at the contrast between the condition of the person outside of the faith and one who has the new life in Christ. Sinful man is helplessly lost in sin, spiritually dead and doomed to corruption (Gal. 6:8). Moreover, man by himself cannot extricate himself from the power of sin (Rom. 7:1 ff.). But God has prepared an adequate way by which sinful man might return to Him. This way is provided in the Cross of Christ. God's provision has made possible the deliverance of the life of a man from the dominion of sin (Co. 1:13-14, Rom. 6:6-11). And Paul had found from personal experience that it could make him kainē ktisis.⁷⁰

Although God initiates the process of deliverance, it is man's part to make a positive response to God's grace. If a man is to be cleansed from his past sin, there must be a sincere faith in the sacrifice of the servant-Messiah at Calvary as the provision of God for the salvation from sin. While Paul affirms that Christ "has died for all" (II Cor. 5:14), he goes on to add, "therefore all died," which presents the idea that in some sense those for whom Christ died are identified with Him upon the Cross.⁷¹ They die with Christ in order that they might live for him (5:15). The new life has already begun for those who died with Christ. In virtue of the new life which the believer lives in Christ, he no longer forms his judgments about Jesus Christ or about anything else

70. G. A. Deissmann, The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul, pp. 223 ff.

71. L. S. Thornton, op. cit., p. 46. This thought is similar to that of Romans 6:1-11, which has been considered previously.

κατὰ σάρκα , but according to "the mind of the Spirit."⁷²

In addition, through union with Christ and sharing in the effect of His death, the believers become righteous in God's sight because "For our sake he made him to be sin who knew no sin that in him we might become the righteousness of God" (5:21 cf. Phil. 3:8-9). From the trend of thought in this passage, it can be seen that Paul's idea of kainē ktisis refers to the new creation of men in this present age.

Not only does the Pauline concept refer to man in his present existence, but it also has a broader significance. A part of the broader connotation of this designation results from the fact that kainē ktisis is grammatically a nominative absolute in the fullest sense possible since it has no connectives at all.⁷³ This expression appears to be without grammatical connectives in order to give it emphatic force.

Another item which stresses the breadth of the idea of new creation is the contrast which immediately follows kainē ktisis: "the old has passed away, behold, the new has come." The "old" has reference to regarding Christ from the human point of view (II Cor. 5:16). In this point of view, Christ would be considered only as a subject for

72. A.E.J. Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ, p. 90, n. 5. Cf. II Cor. 5:16 and Rom. 8:4 ff.

73. Since the expression is probably a nominativus pendens, it appears that ἐστί is to be supplied and then the psychological subject precedes the clause as if it were the grammatical subject. Cf. Robert W. Funk (ed.), A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature (trans. from the ninth-tenth German edition of F. Blass and A. Debrunner; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 243. Louis Taylor, The New Creation, p. 108, n. 186. Albrecht Oepke, op. cit., T.W.N.T., II, 537.

investigation without recognizing his true significance. There is also an allusion to the "new" which came through Jesus Christ. That which has been in existence passes away due to the fact that Christ brought about a new creation.⁷⁴ For this reason, a more extended significance for kainē ktisis is suggested than just the individualistic connotation.

What gave depth to Paul's idea of the Christian as a new creation was that he was a new creature in a new world.⁷⁵ This was made possible because the work of Jesus Christ had cosmic significance.⁷⁶ R. H. Strachan⁷⁷ sees in II Corinthians 5:17 a reference to the fact that Paul regards the new eschatological order--which in the Gospels is called the "kingdom of God"--as already proleptically present among those who are "in Christ." This was made a reality because Christ entered the sphere which sin had claimed as its own and won the victory there. The power of the "age to come" is already penetrating into the lives of the believers. To the Apostle, the thought that "one died for all, therefore all died" (5:14) shows that the death of Christ upon the Cross was the

74. Roy A. Harrisville, The Concept of Newness in the New Testament, p. 90. G. Lindeskog, "Förnyelse, nyskapelse, nyfödelse," p. 12.

75. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (1955), pp. 120 f.

76. According to W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam [op. cit., p. 212], it is Paul's view that the redemption of men means also the redemption of "a world of being" besides mankind, that is, the movement of redemption is truly cosmic.

77. Op. cit., p. 113. Cf. John Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 113. L. S. Thornton, op. cit., p. 65.

death of the old order. Christ's resurrection was the beginning of the new order to which true believers belong. By their entry into the Christian life the converts are translated out of the old order into the new (Col. 1:13 f.). They have been removed from a world which is under the dominion of evil forces into one which has Christ for its King. With an emphatic "behold," Paul stresses the fact that "the old has passed away" and "the new" has begun (II Cor. 5:17). To be in union with Christ brings a man into a new world, which differs from the present world.⁷⁸

In addition to the thought of the "new creation" as the beginning of the "new age" through the Ministry of Jesus Christ, in using kainē ktisis Paul was probably looking forward also to the renovation of creation at the end of this age.⁷⁹ Since kainē ktisis is the beginning of the new creation of the end-time, it naturally looks forward to the consummation of the new creation.⁸⁰ In addition, Paul's thought in

78. Geerhardus Vos, The Pauline Eschatology (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1952), p. 150, n. 7. Cf. E. F. Scott, The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon and to the Ephesians, p. 18.

79. J. Behm, op. cit., T.W.N.T., III, 451. Floyd V. Filson, "The Second Epistle to the Corinthians" (Exegesis Commentary), I. B., X, p. 339. Comp. J. S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 319.

80. Using the term kainē ktisis, Hermann Gunkel [Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895), p. 367] declares: "Wie die alte Welt, der erste Himmel und die erste Erde, am Anfange durch Gottes Wort geschaffen sind, so erwartet man für die letzte Zeit eine neue Schöpfung, $\Pi \psi \tau \Pi \quad \Pi \gamma \gamma \beta$, $\kappa \alpha \iota \nu \eta \quad \kappa \tau \iota \sigma \iota \varsigma$ in der ein neuer Himmel und eine neue Erde entstehen. So wird eine $\alpha \nu \theta \iota \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \sigma \tau \alpha \sigma \iota \varsigma \quad \pi \alpha \nu \tau \omega \nu$, durch die das Alte vergeht und Alles neu wird, der Schöpfung am Anfange gegenübergestellt."

reference to this designation in II Corinthians 5:17 can be based partly on the thoughts expressed in the earlier part of this very chapter. In the first verses of II Corinthians 5 Paul presents an eschatological train of thought. The Apostle yearns to depart from this world in order to be in heaven where Christ is (5:1,2). The certainty of this expectation is based upon the inner renewal (4:16) which is the result of God's creative design. Paul finds a guarantee of this hope in the gift of the Spirit which is a pledge and foretaste of the powers of the spiritual realm (5:5). Those who are in union with Christ do not dread the final Judgment (5:10) for faith (5:7) has brought them the power of the Spirit. From these thoughts just previous to 5:17, it becomes even more evident that Paul included the eschatological idea in his use of kainē ktisis. Paul awaits the new creation which shall be visible in man and the world when this heaven and this earth is transformed into "a new heaven and a new earth" at the ⁸¹second coming of Christ.

And if Paul anticipates the coming of "a new heaven and a new earth" at the end of this age while using kainē ktisis, it would not be amiss to project from the thought of his epistles that the final "new creation" meant for him the renovation of man and the world. In reference to man, the future fulfillment of the "new creation" includes

81. W. Foerster, "κτίσις," T.W.N.T., III, 1034. With this aspect in mind, καὶ νῦν κτίσις in Paul is related to the thought expressed by the use of παλιγγενεσία in Matthew 19:28, which suggests that both passages refer to the "incorruptible world which is to succeed the present order at the final Judgment." Cf. G. H. Box's note on IV Ezra 7:75 in R. H. Charles, Ap. and Ps., II, p. 587.

the final resurrection of men⁸² when "our lowly body" will be changed
 "to be like his [Christ's] glorious body."⁸³ In addition, the "new
 creation" at the End would mean to the Apostle the complete renewal of
 the universe.⁸⁴ All of this means that kainē ktisis bears the quality of
 eternity and will be completely fulfilled in the age to come.

Galatians 6:15

After having said all of this in reference to kainē ktisis, the
 use of this term in Galatians 6:15 should also be presented. Of course,
 the context of the passage in Galatians is different from the one in
 Corinthians. In the letter to the Galatians Paul suggests that the Judaizers
 may glory in their circumcision and obedience to the Law, but he will glory
 only "in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ" (6:14). While the Apostle has
 already said in the important passage of Galatians 2:20 that he had been
 crucified with Christ, now he affirms that through the Cross "the world is
 crucified to me and I to the world."⁸⁵ This means that he has been crucified
 to--and thus severed from--the evil in the world. Then, he continues:⁸⁶

82. I Corinthians 15:42 ff., I Thessalonians 4:13-18, Romans 8:18-25
 and Philippians 3:8-11. Cf. H. A. Guy, The New Testament Doctrine of the
 Last Things (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), pp. 113-128.

83. Philippians 3:21. Vide I Corinthians 13:9-12; 15:42-44, 49, and
 Philippians 3:12-14. Comp. also I Corinthians 6:8-9 and II Thessalonians
 1:8-10.

84. Romans 8:19-22, Philippians 3:20-21, and Colossians 1:14-20. Cf.
 T. Francis Glasson, His Appearing and His Kingdom, pp. 181 f.

85. Galatians 6:14. This thought is described more fully in Romans
 6:4-6, which has been discussed earlier in this chapter.

86. Galatians 6:15, N.E.B. A parallel passage is found in Galatians
 5:6: "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is of
 any avail, but faith working through love." Cf. also I Corinthians
 7:19.

Circumcision is nothing; uncircumcision is nothing; the only thing that counts is new creation!

Here circumcision and uncircumcision, which suggest membership in one of the two segments of humanity, are distinctions which no longer have significance because the "new creation" has come. Although the Jew may be proud of being a Jew and the Greek of being a Greek, in the new order the Jews and the Greeks who become obedient to the Lord are all transformed to be kainē ktisis.

In Galatians 6:15, ΚΤΙΣΙΣ can mean "creature" or "creation." However, since ΚΤΙΣΙΣ "stands in contrast with the act of circumcision and refers to the man whose faith is activated by love (5:6), the second meaning, understood as a new 'act of creation', is preferable."⁸⁷ Because of the extent of the meaning of kainē ktisis in Galatians 6:15, it is generally better to translate the expression "new creation."

The designation kainē ktisis in Galatians has both a personal application to the convert and broader implications. First, the expression focuses attention upon the thoroughgoing transformation of character implied by the combination of καὶνός and ΚΤΙΣΙΣ.⁸⁸

87. This is Raymond T. Stamm's summary ["The Epistle to the Galatians" (Exegesis Commentary), I. B., X, 590] of E. D. Burton's [op. cit., p. 356] technical treatment of the matter.

88. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 37. Ernest Best, op. cit., p. 26. In relation to this central meaning, J. B. Lightfoot [Epistle to the Galatians (tenth ed.; London: Macmillan and Co., 1890), p. 224] compares two important Greek terms by inserting the following statement in his discussion of καὶνὴ ΚΤΙΣΙΣ: "The idea of spiritual enlightenment as a creating anew appears also in παλιγγενεσία."

It also refers to the state of being in the new faith so it includes the new moral quality of life in Christ. C. H. Dodd⁸⁹ suggests that kainē ktisis refers to the "Israel of God" (6:16) as the new community which has come into existence. This is correct if one understands that it is necessary for men to be created anew in order to belong to the true "Israel of God." The reference to the new community is also strengthened by the comparison of nominal forms in verse 15. Since "circumcision" represents one group of humanity and "uncircumcision" represents another, it is logical to think that kainē ktisis would incorporate a reference to the new humanity, which is the new community, the Body of Christ. The use of the indefinite pronoun *τὸ* in the negative statement demonstrates that the distinctions of Jew and Gentile have now ceased to exist in the "new creation." This thought is similar to that of Ephesians 2:14-15: "For he . . . who has made us both one, has broken down the dividing wall of hostility . . . that he might create in himself one new man in place of two, so making peace."⁹⁰ Through Christ's death the barrier has been broken down because there has been effected a new act of creation. The differences disappear so that both Jew and Greek are one in Christ. Furthermore, kainē ktisis denotes not only the newness of the creative act and of the moral quality of life, but also suggests the changed outlook of the new man towards his total environment.⁹¹ To Paul, the

89. The Bible Today, p. 4.

90. Cf. Roy A. Harrisville, The Concept of Newness in the New Testament, p. 91. Ephesians 2:14-15 is treated above in the section entitled "The New Man."

91. G. S. Duncan, The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, p. 191.

advent of Christ was a new creation. And the new creation brings about a new situation of man before God and a new situation for the world.⁹²

There is also a broader implication of this designation in Galatians. By using kainē ktisis in this passage Paul demonstrates his expectation of the general transfiguration of the world at the end of this present age.⁹³ The new creation had already begun to manifest itself in reference to those who had been created anew in Christ and to the new order, but this will be fully consummated only in the future. Therefore, the designation kainē ktisis should be understood eschatologically even in the sixth chapter of Galatians.⁹⁴

In conclusion it can be said that this expression in Galatians 6:15 may not be quite as broad in its primary reference, but the concept of kainē ktisis in Galatians probably connotes much of the same meaning as in II Corinthians, even if there is a considerable amount which is implicitly understood. It is unlikely that Paul meant two different things in the use of this one expression in these two passages.

92. E. Stauffer, New Testament Theology, pp. 141 f. Cf. N. E. Dahl, "Christ, Creation and the Church," The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, pp. 440-442.

93. J. Weiss, The History of Primitive Christianity, II, 531. M. Black, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam," p. 170. Sherman E. Johnson, "The Gospel according to St. Matthew," I. B., VII, 488.

94. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 330. Cf. C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments, p. 59.

The Origin of Paul's Idea of $\kappa α ι ν ῆ \kappa ρ ῑ σ ι ς$

The idea of the new creation is found in early writings outside of the New Testament. First, there are a number of references to the thought of new creation in the Rabbinic literature.⁹⁵ These are found in citations to such things as the deliverance of the Israelites on Mount Sinai compared to being "created afresh," the ending of the troubles of the suffering Messiah being a "new creation," the correction of Moses' speech compared to being "created into a new being," and the pardoning of sin on the Day of Atonement compared to being "created as new creatures." However, since these notions of new creation do not refer to any permanent ethical change and do not suggest the gift of any new capacity to carry out God's will, they are related only in a very limited sense to the fullness of the term $\kappa α ι ν ῆ \kappa ρ ῑ σ ι ς$ in Paul's thought.⁹⁶

The idea of "new creation" is also used in the Rabbinic writings to refer to the conversion of the proselyte to Judaism.⁹⁷ Yet, in addition to the differences between Judaic and Christian thought which have just been stated concerning this matter, there is another important distinction between the references to the proselytes and the Pauline conception. To Judaism, the proselyte was still living in an old world; to Paul, the Christian was a new creature with recently received

95. Vide supra in the section on "Rabbinic Judaism," Chapter II.

96. Cf. Strack and Billerbeck, op. cit., II, 422. E. Sjöberg, op. cit., S. T., IV, p. 59 f.

97. Vide supra in the section entitled "Proselytes," Chapter II. The thought of $הַשְׂדֵּה הַחֲדָשָׁה$ (a new creature) was used to describe a proselyte to Judaism by the second century A. D.

capacities in a new order which had already arrived.⁹⁸ Paul poured a new content into the meaning of "new creation." Furthermore, since these Rabbinic passages concerning the thought of "new creation" are post-Pauline in date, one cannot be sure that Paul was influenced by them. Therefore, it appears that one must look elsewhere for a solid foundation which could be the more likely background of Paul's thinking.

When the research student turns to the apocalyptic literature of the Judaic faith, there are more gratifying results.⁹⁹ The idea of the new creation in apocalyptic literature is found only in its eschatological meaning. The canonical Book of Daniel (ch. 7) teaches the eschatological transformation of the saints and the new age of the world in the future. In addition, the apocalypses of the Pseudepigrapha contain passages which describe a future transformation of the inward part of man by the action of God (e.g., IV Ezra 6:26). There are also other passages in the pseudepigraphic writings which picture the Jewish hope for the renovation of creation (e.g., I Enoch 45:4-5). Sometimes the references to the future renovation of creation are colored by a nationalistic bias, but on other occasions, there is evidence of a new and enlarged eschatology which connects the new creation of man with the renewal of the world.¹⁰⁰ The actual expression "the new creation" occurs in I Enoch 72:1 and the Book of Jubilees 4:26, while the phrase "renew the creation" is found in

98. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 121.

99. Vide supra in the section of "The Apocalyptic Literature," Chapter II.

100. P. Volz, Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde, pp. 30 and 63.

IV Ezra 7:75.

The importance of the concept of new creation in the Jewish apocalyptic literature is not to be underestimated because one of the most fruitful teachings of the apocalyptic literature was the idea of the new creation.¹⁰¹ The thought of new creation is presented in a number of passages without using the exact expression "the new creation," and even these passages refer to an eschatological soteriology which is in its foundation a doctrine of a new creation.¹⁰² By the end of the second century B. C., both the idea and the actual expression of "new creation" with an eschatological content were found in apocalyptic literature. Therefore, because the eschatological concept of new creature was well known in these writings and because they are pre-Christian in date, there appears to be even more probability that this concept in the Jewish apocalyptic literature influenced Paul's thinking than in the case of the Rabbinic writings.

DE. In order to go deeper in this matter the question could be asked whether there is not a source which is even earlier than the extant apocalyptic writings. This earlier source of the idea of new creation is found in the Old Testament. In Deutero-Isaiah (Chs. 65-66) the thoughts of the coming new creation of the universe and the future transformation of humanity are presented.¹⁰³ This one mountain peak

101. S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, pp. 403 ff.

102. Therefore, they present a type of ktisiology. Cf. Gösta Lindeskog, "The Theology of Creation in the Old and New Testament," The Root of the Vine, p. 12.

103. Vide supra in the section on "The Idea of the New Creation" in "The Old Testament," Chapter II.

of Old Testament prophecy--not to mention the passages in the earlier chapters of the Book of Isaiah which describe the transformation of nature in the age to come--is probably the main source of Paul's concept of new creation.¹⁰⁴ The most likely influences upon Paul's concept in their order of preference are first, the Old Testament prophecy, second, the Jewish apocalyptic writings, and third, possibly the Rabbinic literature.¹⁰⁵

The Paul coined this clear-cut phrase *καὶνὴ κτίσις*,¹⁰⁶ and it had a more extensive meaning than the thought of "new creation" in Old Testament prophecy. To Paul, *καὶνὴ κτίσις* had begun to take effect through Jesus Christ by transforming individuals and inaugurating the new order in this present age. According to the Pauline concept of *καὶνὴ κτίσις*, Deutero-Isaiah's hope has already begun to be fulfilled and it will be completely realized in its entirety when the final new creation of the universe will take place at the parousia of Christ.

Footnote

104. Cf. Matthew Black, op. cit., S.J.T., VII (1954), p. 170. W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, op. cit., pp. 210 f.

105. Cf. J. Behm, op. cit., T.W.N.T., II, 451, n. 13. E. D. Burton, op. cit., p. 356.

106. Deissmann, The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul, p. 223.

III. RENEWAL

The concept of renewal in Paul is related to the idea of new creation. There are several terms in the Pauline epistles which can be treated together because of their similarity of meaning. In this section a certain amount of information concerning Paul's soteriological outlook can be presupposed from that which has been discussed previously.

Therefore, this section will mainly summarize the central meaning of the important expressions which present aspects of the Pauline concept of renewal.

The same train of thought which caused Paul to say, "The old has passed, behold, everything has become new" (II Cor. 5:17), motivated him to use other terms relating to renewal. For example, such expressions as "the new covenant" (ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη, I Cor. 11:25), "that you may be fresh dough" (νέον ῥύμα, I Cor. 5:7), "in newness of life" (ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς, Rom. 6:4), "in the new life of the Spirit" (ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος, Rom. 7:6), and being made "into one new man" (εἰς ἓνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, Eph. 2:15) suggest the point of view of the Apostle and are akin to the thought of renewal. However, there are several specific terms which present the central thought of renewal in the Pauline epistles. These terms are ἀνακαινούσθαι, and its noun ἀνακαίνωσις, ἀνανεοῦσθαι, and μεταμορφοῦσθαι.¹

1. Most of these terms were frequently used by Justin and the other apologists of the second century A. D. In the usage of however, the second century Christian writers probably do not like the

The first important term is ἀνακαίνωσθαι which means "to renew." Neither this term nor its noun ἀνακείμενις have been found in any source earlier than Paul nor in any other New Testament authors except Titus 3:5.²

II CORINTHIANS 4:16

This verb is used in II Corinthians 4:16 as follows:

So we do not lose heart. Though our outer nature is wasting away, our inner nature is being renewed every day.

In this passage, Paul describes the limitations of physical life and his hope of deliverance at the resurrection. Two rarely-used anthropological terms are found here to differentiate between two aspects of human nature. The "outer man" (ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος) is the physical body, the man as a transitory earthly being, but not sinful per se.³ On the other hand, the "inner man" (ὁ ἐσω ἄνθρωπος) refers to the true self, that part of man which is capable of being the dwelling of the Holy Spirit and which at death passes from the body of flesh to the body of resurrection.⁴ In this particular passage, the "inner man"

fact that the term is used exclusively for the mythological metamorphosis and that it seems too concrete, so they do not use the term. Cf. Adolf von Harnack, "Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und verwandter Erlebnisse in der ältesten Kirche," p. 103. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, op. cit., p. 513.

2. J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, op. cit., p. 34. However, the similar term ἀνακαίνισεν, meaning "to renew" or "to restore" and used in Hebrews 6:6, is found in pre-Christian Greek literature.

3. J. Behm, "ἐξω," T.W.N.T., II, 573.

4. A. Plummer, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, p. 136. The expression is used two other times in Paul, Romans 7:22 f. and Ephesians 3:16. Cf. C. Ryder Smith, The Bible Doctrine of Man (London: The Epworth Press, 1951), p. 233.

refers to the self which has already been redeemed and awaits the resurrection.⁵ The fact that the outer and inner man constitute one personality should be kept in mind in the interpretation of these two terms.⁶ The verb ἀνακαινοῦσθαι is set in opposition to διαφθείρειν which describes the outer nature as wasting away or being destroyed. The thought of this passage is that Paul and other Christians have already been created anew, and in their present situation the "outer man" undergoes the continual afflictions in the ministry and is thereby always wasting away. But at the same time, the inner man "is being renewed" (present indicative passive). This means that the Spirit renews the redeemed man in faith and courage to be able to endure the hardships and even death, knowing that God who raised the Lord Jesus from the dead will raise them too.⁷

The fact that the believer's true self, the "inner man," has been radically transformed relates him to the new aeon, but he still lives in

5. W. David Stacey, The Pauline View of Man (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1956), p. 211. Floyd V. Filson, op. cit., I. B., X, 323.

6. According to Roy A. Harrisville [The Concept of Newness in the New Testament, pp. 84 ff.], the "outer man" and the "inner man" are not synonymous with the "old man" and the "new man" because the latter terms describe a total relationship and cannot be coexistent with one another. Yet, to C. Ryder Smith [The Bible Doctrine of Man, pp. 233 f.], the "new man" may be approximately equated with the "inner man" except with the former the change through renewal is emphasized, while under the latter the result of the change. On the other hand, Smith declares that the "old man" is not synonymous with the "outer man" because the "outer man" is the body but not in its tendency to sin, whereas in Paul's discussions the "old man" is sinful.

7. Cf. O. Cullmann, "The Proleptic Deliverance of the Body according to the New Testament," p. 166. J.A.T. Robinson [The Body, p. 76] sees in the "inner man" a reference to the σῶμα which "is being transformed continuously in so far as he is a member of the Body of Christ."

this world. In this condition, it is still possible for him to sin (Rom. 7:18-19), but he is no longer in bondage to sin (Rom. 8:37). The "outer" and "inner man" are terms Paul uses to describe the believer in his individual existence. This description suggests that there is a difference between the believer's actual conduct, that aspect of his nature which brings him into relation with the old aeon, and his redeemed heart, that which has been regenerated.⁸ Only at the end of this age does the regenerated man put off the "body of flesh" which related him to the old aeon.

In this passage, there is an implied reference to the past when the "inner man" received a radical change at his entry on the Christian life. Also, the context presents a forward look to the future when the believer will participate in the victory of Jesus Christ over death at the final palingenesia.⁹ However, the central thought of the passage refers to the daily renewal of those who have already been regenerated. Since they have already come to be in Christ, the new solidarity is daily being built within them. Therefore, the passage refers to the continuing condition of those who have been created anew and have a growing awareness of their faith-union with Christ.

COLOSSIANS 3:10

The only other passage in the New Testament which employs the

8. Roy A. Harrisville, The Concept of Newness in the New Testament, pp. 85-89.

9. Cf. II Corinthians 4:17-18. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 318.

verb ἀνακαινοῦσθαι is found in Colossians 3:10. Since this passage has already been treated from the point of view of the "new man,"¹⁰ there remains only to consider its thought of renewal. In this passage, Paul exhorts his readers not to lie to one another in view of the fact that they have put off the old nature with its practices and have put on the new nature, "which is being renewed in knowledge after the image of its creator" (Col. 3:10). Then, Paul adds that the "new man" in his continuing existence is always being renewed, that is, is always being endowed with new life.¹¹ It is a religious and ethical renewal, having as its standard the image of God.

This passage uses the designation "new man" to describe the fact that those who have entered the Christian life have already been made καὶνὴ κτίσις in Christ. Then, Paul employs the present participle, ἀνακαινοῦμενον, to stress the thought that although they have put on the new man once and for all, there is a continuing renewal even after one becomes a Christian.¹² Hence, the term

ἀνακαινοῦσθαι means the same here as it does in II

Corinthians 4:16. In the situation of this Colossian passage, the "new man" begins to take upon himself "the image of him that created

10. Vide supra in the section entitled "The New Man" in this chapter.

11. J. Behm, op. cit., T.W.N.T., III, 454.

12. J. B. Lightfoot, Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, p. 215.

him."¹³ This suggests an analogy to the first creation. Now after the "new creation," the divine image which had been disfigured by sin is recreated and thereafter comes to be renewed more and more. This means that the Christian comes nearer and nearer to the ideal of man in the mind of the Creator. Another important result of having put on the new man is being continually renewed "unto knowledge," that is, the knowledge of God in Christ.¹⁴

The idea of renewal in Colossians 3:10 is twofold. First, the person who has passed over into the Christian life has already been created a "new man." This also includes the thought that the person has put on the Second Adam, whereby he is incorporated into the Body of Christ. Second, the man who has been created anew is always being renewed in a religious and ethical way.¹⁵ Therefore, the passage presents both the renewal which takes place once for all and that which is a never-ending process.

13. Since δ *κτίσας* refers to God in its other uses, it is likely that it means God here, especially, because this passage refers back to the first creation of man in the image of God (Genesis 1:26-28). The phrase "in the image of him that created him" may imply "in the likeness of Christ," but the immediate thought is of an analogy to the first creation. Cf. E. F. Scott, The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon and to the Ephesians, p. 69. T. K. Abbott, op. cit., p. 284.

14. See Colossians 1:9: "that you may be filled with knowledge of his will." Cf. F. F. Bruce, "Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians," p. 274. F. W. Beare, "The Epistle to the Colossians," p. 216.

15. Martin Dibelius, An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon, p. 32.

ROMANS 12:2

The noun of ἀνακαίνωσθαι is ἀνακαίνωσις which is used in only two places in the New Testament, Romans 12:2 and Titus 3:5. Since the meaning of Titus 3:5 will be considered in a section to itself at the end of this chapter, our focus of interest here will be upon Romans 12:2. Along with the term ἀνακαίνωσις in Romans 12:2, a significant verb is found which is related to the thought of renewal. This verb is μεταμορφοῦσθαι. The passage under consideration reads:

Do not be conformed to this world but be transformed by the renewal of your mind, that you may prove what is the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect. (Rom. 12:2)

At the twelfth chapter of Romans Paul makes the transition in this epistle from doctrine to exhortations concerning the practice of the life of faith. However, his ethical teaching is based upon his dogmatics. Those to whom he speaks are persons who have already been brought into a new order of life in the Spirit.¹⁶ Because they have been given newness of life by union with Christ, they must not "be conformed"

(συσχηματίζεσθε) to the pattern of this present age, but "be transformed" (μεταμορφοῦσθε) in their inmost nature.

16. W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *op. cit.*, pp. 352, 354. E. G. Selwyn [*The First Epistle of St. Peter*, pp. 370, 373], following Philip Carrington [*The Primitive Christian Catechism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), pp. 18-20], sees in Romans 12:2 traces of a primitive Christian catechism based upon a primitive Holiness Code. These commands to remain aloof from sin were taught to those who had already become members of the community of the new covenant.

The use of the imperative mode in this verb demonstrates that the "new man" is not exempt from the problem of sin. To be conformed to this age results in a "base mind" (Rom. 1:28). There is a sharp contrast here between the man whose life is fashioned by the character of this present age and one who has entered into the new age.¹⁷ The thought here is related to Romans 6:3-11. Because of the resurrection of Jesus, "this age" need no longer be the principle of life which regulates those who have died and been raised with Christ. For those who are in Christ, the new age has already come.

Then, Paul declares that the only way this can be done is to "let yourselves be transformed by the renewal of your mind" (μεταμορφώσθε τῇ ἀνακλινώσει τοῦ νοός).

This second imperative stresses that the Christians will need again and again the renewal of the knowing-and-understanding, which in turn affects the will of man.¹⁸ The verb "transform" probably refers back to the event of being created anew at conversion. However, the imperative tenses and the context suggest that the immediate reference is to the

17. E. Stauffer, New Testament Theology, p. 76. C. K. Barrett, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (Harper's New Testament Commentaries. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1957), p. 232. R. C. Trench [Synonyms of the New Testament (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., Ltd., 1865), pp. 251 f.] makes the distinction between these terms clear by stating: "Thus if I were to change a Dutch garden into an Italian, this would be μετασχηματισμός : but if I were to transform a garden into something wholly different, say a garden into a city, this would be μεταμορφώσις."

18. J. Behm, "μεταμορφώω," T.W.N.T., IV, 767, and op. cit., T.W.N.T., III, 455. W. David Stacey, The Pauline View of Man, p. 199.

recurring renewal of the Christian in everyday life.¹⁹ From what Paul asserts in Romans 8:9-13, it is implied here that the Spirit of God, who dwells within the Christian is the one who brings about the inner renewal.²⁰ Since the $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ is of a sort that aims toward an action,²¹ the renewal of the $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ results in proving by ethical actions that the Christians belong to the new aeon and are members of the new humanity. This exhibits the fact "that the plan of God for you is good, meets all his demands and moves toward the goal of true maturity."²² Therefore, this passage refers primarily to the continuing renewal of the $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ with every Christian decision, but it also bases the daily renewal upon the initial transformation whereby the person came to be in Christ. The passage also looks forward to the final transformation of all things at the end of this age. Therefore, this passage demonstrates the threefold thought that the renewal begins at conversion, advances with every Christian decision and ends in the glory of God.²³

II CORINTHIANS 3:18

The verb $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\rho\phi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ²⁴ is also found in

19. C. H. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, pp. 192 f. Otherwise by K. E. Kirk, The Epistle to the Romans, pp. 231, 216.

20. H. Lietzmann, An die Römer, p. 109.

21. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 211 f.

22. J. B. Phillips, The New Testament in Modern English (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958), p. 341.

23. C. K. Barrett, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, p. 233.

24. Adolf von Harnack comments that the second century Christians did not follow Paul in continuing to use this term, but if they were going to

II Corinthians expressing the following thought:

And we all, with unveiled face, beholding the glory of the Lord, are being changed into his likeness from one degree of glory to another; for this comes from the Lord who is the Spirit. (II Cor. 3:18)

Because those who are Christians have the Spirit they can behold the reflection of the "glory" of God in the person of Christ. And those who behold the "glory" of the Lord are being transfigured (μεταμορφούμεθα) into His likeness.

Since the term *κατοπτρίζεσθαι* can mean either "to look at something as in a mirror" or "to reflect," the verse can also describe the fact that just as Christ reflects the divine "glory" so the Christians are to reflect with unveiled face, that is, without any need of concealment, the "glory" of the Lord.²⁵ It is by the process of continually reflecting the glory of Christ that the transformation takes place. The change begins already on the inside of the Christian, but it is not only inward because the words "into his likeness" mean that a share of the *δόξα* possessed by Christ is imparted to the disciples. Also, the "glory" is the power by means of which the inner self is being renewed day by day.²⁶ This transformation is brought about through

employ a term with this approximate meaning they appear to prefer *μορφοῦσθαι*. The latter term is used more by them to speak of forming a new man. Cf. "Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und verwandter Erlebnisse in der Ältesten Kirche," p. 103. [Hereinafter, "Terminologie."]

25. A.E.J. Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ, p. 132. A. Plummer, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, p. 90. W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, p. 132. R. H. Strachan, The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, p. 90.

26. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 334. Cf. A. Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, pp. 66 f.

Christ who is present and effective through the Spirit. However, it is no mystical deification.²⁷ In this context, Paul is describing the process by which "we all" [all Christians] experience a continual change that takes place through growth in Christian faith and character. The phrase "from glory unto glory" demonstrates that the spiritual renewal is already taking place, but that it is a gradual development which will not be completed until the end of this age.

EPHESIANS 4:23

Finally, Paul's thought of renewal is set forth by means of the verb $\alpha\lambda\alpha\lambda\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\theta\alpha\iota$ which occurs in its only usage in the New Testament in Ephesians 4:23. Just prior to this verse Paul has admonished his readers not to live as the heathen do, because they have already "learned Christ" (4:20). The Apostle assumes that his readers are already Christians (4:21) and urges them to bring their lives in correspondence with their true position.²⁸ He declares:

27. In the mystery religions, the idea of transformation is a parallel conception to that of deification. For example, in the Isis cult as recorded in Apuleius' Metamorphoses (XI, 23 f.), the initiate seeks to become transformed into a god-like being through gazing upon the celestial gods during the initiation. II Corinthians 3:18 also has a certain similarity to Hermetic phraseology; however, there are key differences between this and Paul's thought. Vide supra in "Rebirth in the Mystery Religions," Chapter I. Furthermore, Philo Judaeus believed that the pious man who prepared himself could have a vision of God which would result in a mental illumination and a transformation, but this transformation was temporary for all but a select few of the great men of ancient Israel. Vide supra in "Hellenistic Judaism: Philo Judaeus," Chapter II. However, Paul is far from the idea of transformation in either the mystery religions or in Philo. Cf. J. Behm, op. cit., T.W.N.T., IV, 764-766. A. D. Nock, "Early Gentile Christianity," pp. 107 ff.

28. Cf. Ephesians 4:1. J. Armitage Robinson, St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, p. 108. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 101.

"Put off your old nature . . . and be renewed in the spirit of your minds, and put on the new nature . . ." (Eph. 4:22-24). Since the idea of the "old" and the "new man" in these verses has already been treated,²⁹ the focus of attention here will be only in reference to Paul's concept of renewal.

They have already put on the new man which is ἀνα νεοῦσθαι . . . τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοῦς ὑμῶν. As Paul appears to have invented a 'new term' in ἀνακατανοῦσθαι, so in like manner ἀνα νεοῦσθαι is coined in this passage to express his notion of renewal.³⁰ Ephesians 4:22-24 corresponds to Colossians 3:9-10 except that the latter passage makes use of ἀνακατανοῦσθαι. The verb in Ephesians is a present passive infinitive but along with the other infinitives in this passage ("to walk," vs. 17, "to put off," vs. 22, and "to put on," vs. 24), it has an imperative force.³¹ So Paul is saying, in effect, that even though they are already Christians they need to be reminded that after the new man is put on, they must be renewed continually in their daily Christian lives.

Behind the imperative force in this particular context, the "being renewed" presents about the same meaning as is found in the other Pauline terms of renewal. However, the verb ἀνακατανοῦσθαι can be

29. Vide supra in the section on "The New Man" in this chapter.

30. J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, op. cit., p. 34.

31. J. Behm, op. cit., T.W.N.T., IV, 904. F. W. Beare, op. cit., I. B., X, 698.

distinguished from ἀναγενέσθαι in the same way as καίνος from νέος. The former refers to qualitative renewal, while the latter designates renewal as a new beginning in time.³² Yet, it is the same marvelous process, even though the terms regard it from slightly different points of view. In Ephesians 4:17 ff., vanity of the mind leads to alienation from God so it was necessary to "be renewed in the spirit of your mind." The reference to "the spirit of (their) mind" points out the fundamental nature of the renewal. It changes that part of the human personality by which they have communion with God, and which in turn is closely related to their thinking and willing. An aspect of the νοῦς, the disposition or way of thinking in the whole mental and moral state of being, is to be renewed.³³ This change is effected by the Spirit of Christ. Therefore, the Spirit keeps on making the Christians young again in the spiritual principle of their minds.³⁴

In summary, there are certain shades of meaning which differ slightly in these passages on renewal, but one basic idea of Paul is consistently presented. This idea is that after the initial transformation of the believer at conversion there is a continuing process of renewal

32. R. C. Trench, Synonyms of the New Testament, p. 224.

33. This is not the deification of the noetic faculty which is so common in the Hermetic literature. Vide in the section entitled "Hermeticism," Chapter I, and Roy A. Harrisville, The Concept of Newness in the New Testament, p. 76.

34. T. K. Abbott, op. cit., p. 136. C. Ryder Smith, The Bible Doctrine of Man, p. 167. E. F. Scott, The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon and to the Ephesians, pp. 219 f.

which runs throughout the earthly existence of the Christian and looks forward to the final new creation of all things at the end of this present age. All of this is part of Paul's broad concept of regeneration.

IV. ADOPTION TO SONSHIP

The Pauline teaching concerning adoption is related to the concept of regeneration. The term $\nu\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ means "installation as a son" or "adoption to sonship."¹ In the New Testament, it is used only by Paul and then it occurs only five times.²

The ancient legal concept of adoption is rarely alluded to in the Old Testament.³ However, the practice is well known in laws of ancient Semitic civilizations, as well as in Greek inscriptions and the papyri. In the Graeco-Roman world, a wealthy man who had no children would frequently adopt a young slave, who would immediately cease to be a slave and would become a member of the family, being made a son and heir. Therefore, there is no doubt that the term "adoption" was well-known to the ordinary man of the first Christian century.⁴

In the Old Testament, the descendants of Jacob (Israel) were described as God's sons (Hosea 11:1). The Apostle even employs the term $\nu\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ (Rom. 9:4) to describe the past relationship of

1. According to E. D. Burton, op. cit., p. 221 and R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 278, respectively.

2. Romans 8:15, 23; 9:4; Galatians 4:5 and Ephesians 1:5. Also, the term $\nu\acute{\iota}\theta\varsigma$ is used seven times in the Pauline epistles in referring to Christians as being sons of God: Romans 8:14, 19; 9:26; II Corinthians 6:18; Galatians 3:26; 4:7 (two times).

3. Cf. Genesis 15:1 ff., Exodus 2:10, Ruth 4:16, I Chronicles 28:6, Esther 2:7, 15, and Jeremiah 3:19.

4. A. Deissmann, Paul, pp. 174 f. However, Paul's religious usage of the term "adoption" is not related in vital doctrine to the Greek usage. Cf. W. H. Rossell, "New Testament Adoption--Graeco-Roman or Semitic?", J.B.L., LXXI (1952), 233-234.

Israel to God set forth in Exodus 4:22. However, Paul's thought concerning man's present relationship to God was that the Gentiles had no natural rights of sonship and that the Jews had forfeited their inheritance. By sending forth of His own Son to carry out the work of redemption, God made it possible for both Jew and Gentile to be admitted to the status of sonship by adoption. They do not have any right to the title, but they "are all sons of God through faith" (Gal. 3:26). Sonship belongs to Jesus Christ by right, and those who come to be in union with Christ are granted the status of "adoption to sonship." Thus, the believer is "no longer a slave but a son, and if a son then an heir" (Gal. 4:7). This adoption is in accordance with what God has foreordained, and it is accomplished "through Jesus Christ" (Eph. 1:5).

In Romans 8:15-16, Christians are said to have received "the spirit of adoption to sonship," which enables them through the Spirit to call upon God as "Abba! Father!" The Holy Spirit bears witness with their spirit that an adoption has taken place. This thought describes the sonship of the Christian as a present reality.⁵ Then, just a few verses later, adoption is presented as a thing of the future. In an eschatological sense, Paul declares that Christians have received "the first fruits of the Spirit," but they groan as they "wait for adoption as sons" (Rom. 8:23).

The concept of adoption to sonship has strong roots which go back to Jesus' installation as the Son of God.⁶ Adoption was a convenient

5. C. H. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, pp. 130-132. Cf. L. S. Thornton, op. cit., pp. 114 ff.

6. Romans 1:4. A. von Harnack, "Terminologie," p. 103.

figure for Paul to describe the fact that man by nature is outside of the family of God and must be "adopted" by God through the work of Christ in order to be made "sons of God." The fact that Jesus is the unique Son of God by right demonstrates a contrast to man who by nature is outside of the family of God. Yet, after a person becomes a Christian, he is able to cry "Abba! Father!"⁷ which was the same expression spoken by Jesus Himself (Mark 14:36). This analogy suggests a sonship for the believer which is comparable to, but not equal with, that of Christ. Moreover, the sonship of the believer does not reach its completion until the end of this age (Rom. 8:23).

To Paul, when a person is truly converted to Christ, he becomes a son of God. So one method the Apostle could use to describe the purpose of the salvation-occurrence was "that we might receive adoption as sons" (Gal. 4:5). According to C.F.D. Moule,⁸ Paul used υἱοθεσία in preference to γενναῖον ἄνωθεν in the Gospel of John and to ἀναγενναῖον in I Peter. In all likelihood, the figure of adoption conveys both the idea of entry into the faith as well as the notion of the status of being a Christian. When the Apostle used the figure, it is probable that he sought to express his own thoroughgoing change in passing over from being one of the "children of wrath" (Eph. 2:3) to become a child of God.⁹ Every man was a creature of God, but

7. Romans 8:15, Galatians 4:6.

8. "Adoption," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. G. A. Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), I, 49.

9. Cf. J. S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 254.

only those who were living in fellowship with God were His "sons." The figure of becoming a son of God is very close to that of being begotten of God.¹⁰

On the other hand, the idea of adoption to sonship is a vivid metaphor to describe the God-man relationship after conversion. Being a child of God is at the same time an intimate and a reverent expression for the believer's communion with God. The metaphor places emphasis upon the new privileges of the Christian life. Those who are adopted into sonship receive "the glorious liberty of the children of God" (Rom. 8:21). The idea of adoption to sonship is important in Paul's concept of "new creation," because the "new man" is fashioned by the creative work of God (Eph. 2:10) in order that he might "walk in newness of life."¹¹ The person who has been granted the privilege of sonship is no longer "in Adam" but is "in Christ"; whereby, he is dependent upon, loving toward, and obedient to God.

10. In fact, they are so close that John actually links them together in 1:12-13. Cf. L. H. Marshall, The Challenge of New Testament Ethics (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 259.

11. Romans 6:4. In addition, A. von Harnack ["Terminologie," p. 108] asserts that after Paul's time the thought of rebirth triumphed over that of new creation because in the former the Fatherhood of God is included.

V. SPECIAL LANGUAGE FORMULATIONS

In the Pauline epistles, the thought of receiving salvation through Christ is presented in the metaphors of spiritual resurrection, new creation, and adoption to sonship. It has been pointed out that each of these metaphors is related to the broad concept of regeneration.

There are also other Pauline expressions which appear to show that the idea of birth was not strange to his train of thought. The Apostle uses some special language formulations which illustrate this point. The purpose of this section is not to consider in full the theological content of each verse mentioned, but to focus attention on the language forms themselves and see what can be learned about Paul's thought in the selection of these expressions.

To the weak and wayward converts at Galatia, Paul writes:

My little children, with whom I am again in travail until
Christ be formed in you! (Gal. 4:19)

Since he affectionately calls them his children, he is referring to those whom he has already begotten in the faith.¹ The verb $\omega\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ occurs only twice in the New Testament (here and Rev. 12:2), and means "to suffer birthpangs." The Apostle speaks of the necessity of being in birthpangs "again," which compares the present situation with a previous one. Paul's "birthpangs" do not refer directly to a regeneration in the Spirit.² The first "birthpangs" were the efforts by which the Apostle

1. E. D. Burton, op. cit., p. 248.

2. J. B. Lightfoot, Epistle to the Galatians, p. 178.

first brought the Galatian Christians to faith in Christ. His present "labor pains" are due to the anxiety and misgiving he now experiences as to whether they have really entered into vital union with Christ. This passage implies that Paul may have thought of the acceptance of faith as if it were a birth and that his work of evangelism was regarded as the act of a mother giving birth. Therefore, these are strong suggestions that Paul would not have been opposed to thinking of the entry into the Christian life as a regeneration.

Two other passages are applicable here because in them Paul calls himself "father." To the Corinthians he writes:

You may have ten thousand tutors in Christ, but you have only one father. For in Christ Jesus you are my one offspring, and mine alone, through the preaching of the Gospel.
(I Cor. 4:15, N.E.B.)

The Apostle strongly felt that he had begotten them in Christ through the gospel.³ A related passage is found in his letter to Philemon where the man of Tarsus exhorts:

I, Paul, . . . appeal to you about my child [Onesimus], whose father I have become in this prison. (Philm. 9-10, N.E.B.)

When the Apostle refers to begetting the Corinthians and Onesimus--

γεννᾶν is used in both places--, he is not directly designating thereby a new birth by the Holy Spirit.⁴ Rather he uses the

3. A similar thought is found in b Sanhedrin 19b: "R. Samuel b. Nahmani said in R. Jonathan's name: He who teaches the son of his neighbour the Torah, Scripture ascribes it to him as if he had begotten him" Cf. Bab. Tal., Sonc. ed., Part 4, Vol. 5, p. 102. Cited by G. G. Findlay, "St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians," (Vol. II of The Expositor's Greek Testament. New York: George H. Doran Company, n.d.), p. 804.

4. A. Robertson and A. Plummer, First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians (I.C.C.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911), p. 90. John Knox, "The Epistle to Philemon" (Exegesis Commentary), I. B., XI, 566-567.

figure of begetting to speak of his influence in urging them to become believers in Christ. The central idea of these passages is that Paul thinks of himself as a spiritual "father" to those who become Christians under his ministry. The figure of spiritual fatherhood was well-known to the Rabbis. According to the Rabbinic literature, the pupil was taught that respect for a teacher should exceed the respect shown to one's physical father. If both his teacher and his father were in need, he must first help his teacher and afterwards his physical father. The reason for this is given in Baba mezia ii, 11: "For his father only brought him into this world. His teacher, who taught him wisdom, brings him into the life of the world to come."⁵

There is another expression in the Pauline epistles which may suggest that the Apostle could have visualized the event of becoming a Christian as a birth. This expression is πρωτότοκος which means "first-born." Here Paul borrows a recognized Messianic name, which had originated from the designation of Israel as God's first-born. In Rabbinic usage, the designation can mean "the beloved," "the most precious one," "the most respected one," and in this sense can refer to the Torah, Adam, Jacob, Israel, and the Messiah.⁶ Christ is called the "first-born" of the new humanity in Romans 8:29:

For those whom he foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son, in order that he might be the first-born among many brethren.

5. Quoted by Emil Schürer, A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ (1901), Div. II, Vol. I, p. 317. Cf. H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, op. cit., III, 341. Vide supra in the section on "Proselytes" in Chapter II.

6. Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., III, 257. Cf. A. Schlatter, Gottes Gerechtigkeit (zweite auflage; Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1952), p. 283.

In this chapter of Romans, Paul is describing the Christian religious experience. He is saying that those who become children of God are heirs along with Christ (Rom. 8:17). They are made "brothers" of Christ, the Head of the redeemed family, by the gift of the new life.⁷

Another passage which presents the significance of Christ as the source of the new life is found in Colossians 1:18:

He is the head of the body, the church; he is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in everything he might be preëminent.

This passage sets forth the unique worth of Christ as the One through whom the new race of mankind and all created beings (ἐν παντί) begin a new phase of existence.⁸ This also emphasizes the uniqueness of His Sonship. Men can be called "sons of God," but only one is the Son, the πρωτότοκος.

The term πρωτότοκος is also used to refer to Christ in another meaning. In Colossians 1:15-16, Christ is described as:

. . . the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation; for in him all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, . . .

The thought here portrays Christ as the One who has temporal priority to all created things and as the ground of creation. The primary connotation of "first-born" in this usage is different from its occurrence in the two

7. C. H. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, pp. 141 f.
John Knox, "The Epistle to the Romans," I. B., IX, 527.

8. E. F. Scott, The Epistle of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon and to the Ephesians, p. 24.

previous passages. Colossians 1:15 teaches Christ's pre-existence and sovereignty over all created things; whereas, Romans 8:29 and Colossians 1:18 describe Christ as the one coming forth from God to establish the new community of saints.⁹

On the other hand, it can be shown that these two concepts of "first-born" are related to one another.¹⁰ The idea of the "first-born of all created things" demonstrates the importance of Christ in relation to the first creation, while the notion of the "first-born from among the dead" points to the thought of the new creation and indicates the sphere out of which the new life came. As has already been seen in connection with kainē ktisis, Paul held that the new humanity began with the resurrection of Jesus. In New Testament eschatology, the beginning and the end correspond to one another. In the Christological excursus of Colossians 1:15-20, there is a parallelism between Christ's relationship to the creation of the universe and to the re-creation of those who become members of His Body: He is the mediator of the first creation and of the second creation.¹¹ Therefore, Jesus Christ is the

πρωτότοκος

of the first creation and is also the

9. T. K. Abbott, op. cit., pp. 212, 217-218. J. B. Lightfoot, Saint Paul's Epistles to Colossians and to Philemon (1904), pp. 144 f. Comp. Philippians 2:6 ff., 3:10, and I Corinthians 8:6.

10. G. Lindeskog, "Förnyelse, nyskapelse, nyfödelse," pp. 20-22. J. B. Lightfoot, Saint Paul's Epistles to Colossians and to Philemon, p. 156.

11. Martin Dibelius, An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon, pp. 6-7,
12. Cf. Hermann Gunkel, op. cit., p. 367.

ΠΡΩΤΟΤΟΚΟΣ of the new creation.¹² Then, the use of
 ΠΡΩΤΟΤΟΚΟΣ for Christ as the "first-born among many
 brethren" carries with it a hint that Paul could regard the event of
 becoming a Christian as a birth.

In conclusion, these language forms of the Apostle reveal a part
 of the background of his thinking. Paul can say that he in Jesus Christ
 through the gospel has given birth to those who have become members of
 the Body of Christ at Corinth (I Cor. 4:15). Furthermore, due to the
 fact that Christ is said to be the "first-born among many brethren,"
 the idea is implied that to become a Christian means to be born to new
 life. Underlying the various terms Paul employs in these linguistic
 formulations there appears to be an understood maxim: to become a
 Christian is to be born. Therefore, Paul was probably not adverse to
 thinking of the entrance into the Christian life as a new birth.

12. Justin Martyr [Dialogue with Trypho 138:2] explicitly combines the
 work of Christ in the first and second creation: "Now, since Christ was
 the First-born of every creature, He founded a new race which is regenerated
 by Him." E. T. by Thomas B. Falls, Writings of Saint Justin Martyr (The
Fathers of the Church, ed. Ludwig Schopp; New York: Christian Heritage,
 Inc., 1948), p. 360.

VI. TITUS 3:5

The deutero-Pauline passage which teaches the idea of regeneration is found in Titus 3:5. The problem of authorship of the Pastoral Epistles has a bearing upon the interpretation given to this passage. A look at the opinions of the scholars as to authorship of the Pastorals reveals a wide divergence of opinion. Such prominent exegetes as Joachim Jeremias, Walter Lock and R. St. John Parry defend Pauline authorship.¹ Others, like Martin Dibelius,² deny Pauline authorship of even fragments of the epistles. The most likely solution is seen in another point of view. Probably some fragments of private letters of Paul³ came into the hands of a Pauline Christian. This Christian teacher realized that the church of his day needed to be told exactly what these private Pauline letters said, but they were too fragmentary to be circulated. Therefore, he expanded these fragments and made them applicable to the needs of his day and sent them to the church.

THE MEANING OF THE PASSAGE

The passage of particular interest to this study is found in Titus 3:3-8a:

For we ourselves were once foolish, disobedient, led astray, slaves to various passions and pleasures, passing our days in malice and envy, hated by men and hating one another;

1. J. Jeremias, Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus, pp. 1-8. Walter Lock, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, pp. xxv-xxxi. R. St. John Parry, The Pastoral Epistles, pp. xvii ff.

2. Die Pastoralbriefe (third edition), pp. 1 ff.

3. Compare P. N. Harrison, The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles, pp. 115 ff.

but when the goodness and loving kindness of God our Savior appeared, he saved us, not because of deeds done by us in righteousness, but in virtue of his own mercy, by the washing of regeneration and renewal in the Holy Spirit, which he poured out upon us richly through Jesus Christ our Savior, so that we might be justified by his grace and become heirs in hope of eternal life. The saying is sure.

The first formula, "the word is faithful," hints that the sentences were borrowed, possibly from an early Christian hymn.⁴ According to Dibelius,⁵ the fragment may have originally been taken over from the thought of Paul, but previous to its usage here it has become tradition.

The grammar of this passage is somewhat ambiguous. For this reason, the explanation of these verses has been presented in different ways both in reference to the entire sentence and to the relationship of individual words.⁶ Therefore, it is possible to derive different explanations of the idea of regeneration presented in this text. In order to discuss this passage with clarity, the research student must present the results of his study and cite more complete works where the involved problems are thrashed out.

The basic thought of the passage is to point out what God has

4. The extent of this hymn fragment is uncertain. M. Dibelius [Die Pastoralbriefe, p. 24] says the fragment begins at vs. 3, while J. Jeremias [Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus, p. 65] begins it as vs. 4. B. S. Easton [The Pastoral Epistles, pp. 99 f.] includes vss. 5b-7, while Walter Lock [A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, p. 155] suggests that the saying is contained in vss. 5-7, or possibly only vs. 5 with vss. 6-7 as the writer's own expansion.

5. Die Pastoralbriefe, p. 111.

6. For a detailed treatment of various points of view, see J. Dey, op. cit., pp. 133-135.

accomplished for mankind through Jesus Christ. The writers of the Pastorals, who is sometimes called the Pastor, begins by presenting the contrast of what they--or as he says "we"--were before the power of God's grace changed their lives. The faithful were to be humble with everyone, even the wicked, because they were once "unwise, disobedient, having gone astray . . . hateful and hating one another" (3:3). In contrast to this wretched condition, Jesus made a new relationship to God possible for the believer. The Pastor focuses attention on this by recording: "but when the goodness and loving kindness of God our Savior appeared" (3:4). The word "appeared" refers to the incarnation of Christ, His "epiphany,"⁷ as is suggested in II Timothy 1:10. The coming of Christ, which includes His birth and death on the Cross, is the turning-point in the history of mankind, and also in the life of each genuine Christian. For the *χρηστότης* and *φιλανθρωπία* of God our Savior appeared in Him as a light which shines in the darkness. The "goodness of God" is His spontaneous disposition to bless and has its nearest English equivalent in "benignity."⁸ The philanthrōpia of God, used only here and Acts 28:2, refers to His love and kind dealings with man. Everything that man receives is due to these two qualities of God.

Because of God's sincere benevolence, He "saves us." The individual only responds to God's saving act. Salvation is not the result of "any good deeds" which men may do. In fact, the wording "by works

7. Cf. B. S. Easton, The Pastoral Epistles, pp. 99, 172.

8. E. K. Simpson, The Pastoral Epistles (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1954), p. 114.

wrought in righteousness" suggests that even if works could be performed perfectly they would have no saving value. The writer praises the goodness and love of God which moved Him to save men without any merit on their behalf, that is, without the works of justice done by men in the natural law or in the Mosaic law.⁹ The very fact that "not of works" is stressed brings to mind the opposite of works which is faith. Therefore, faith is implied in this passage.¹⁰ Here faith is the necessary basis for receiving these gifts of God. At the same time, this passage stresses that God is the ultimate author of salvation.¹¹

Although salvation is due to God's goodness and love of mankind, it must be mediated to men. The saving act of God in Christ is made effective to men through "the washing of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Spirit" [διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου]. The word λουτρόν means "bath" or "washing" and has reference to baptism.¹² The only other usage of this term for baptism is seen in Ephesians 5:26: "that he might sanctify her, having cleansed her by the washing of water with the word."

9. Cf. Galatians 3:22, Romans 3:9. V. Jacono, op. cit., p. 372.

10. J. Dey, op. cit., p. 138. E. F. Scott, The Pastoral Epistles, pp. xxxi f. R. St. John Parry, The Pastoral Epistles, p. 84.

11. H.A.A. Kennedy, The Theology of the Epistles (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), pp. 239 f.

12. A. D. Nock, "The Vocabulary of the New Testament," J.B.L., LII (1933), p. 132. R. St. John Parry, The Pastoral Epistles, p. 83.

However, as in Romans 6:3-6, the immersion portrays the rebirth but it is not a magical means of effecting it. This means that the love and grace of God are bestowed upon men through baptism. Baptism in the Titus passage is the encounter of God with man based on grace and faith which has an effect on the one who participates in the event. Since this is baptism in the primitive Christian community, it refers to baptism of mature persons who were passing over from heathenism into the Christian fellowship. In baptism, according to A. Schlatter,¹³ the convert received union with the Lord, who gave to him a new life through His Spirit.

In relation to this, two expressive terms are employed. First, it is called a "washing of *παλιγγενεσία* ." The word palingenesia basically means a beginning again and denotes further "renewal to a higher being," and "regeneration."¹⁴ In this passage, it refers to the rebirth of the individual person, which is stressed in the fact that the clause begins with the words "He saved us." Here the word palingenesia presents the idea of beginning anew existence. This regeneration is the same thing which Paul speaks about when he says a person becomes a "new creature" (II Cor. 5:17), or when I Peter describes the change as becoming "like new-born infants" (2:2), or when James declares that the regenerate person is "begotten of God" (1:18). In other words, this is a permanent transformation of life which is

13. Die Briefe an die Thessalonicher, Philipper, Timotheus und Titus (Teil 8 or Erläuterung zum Neuen Testament. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1950), p. 262.

14. F. Büchsel, op. cit., T.W.N.T., I, 685.

necessary in order to enter into true fellowship with God. It is open to all men.

This is different from the usage of palengenesia in Matthew 19:28 where it refers to the rebirth of the world at the time of the parousia of Christ. The idea of regeneration in Titus is related to the thought expressed in the discourse of Jesus with Nicodemus.¹⁵ In order to be adopted as sons of God, there must be a rebirth through water and the Holy Spirit.

The second important term used in this passage is ἀνακαίνωσις. One interpretation of the use of the term "renewal" here is to think of it as a further definition of regeneration.¹⁶ In this case, the "washing of regeneration" and the "renewal of the Holy Spirit" are parallel links. The latter expression thereby refers to the new life which the Spirit grants through rebirth.

Another approach to this is to understand the event of rebirth to be suggested by the term palengenesia, while the continuing renewal of the Holy Spirit by the term, ἀνακαίνωσις.¹⁷ In making an assessment of these two possibilities, it should be noted that Paul first coined ἀνακαίνωσις for use in Romans 12:2,

15. John 3:3-5. E. F. Scott, The Pastoral Epistles, p. 175. V. Jacono, op. cit., p. 372.

16. J. Jeremias, Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus, p. 66. M. Dibelius, Die Pastoralbriefe, p. 112.

17. R. C. Trench, Synonyms of the New Testament, p. 65. Newport J. D. White, "The First and Second Epistles to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus," The Expositor's Greek Testament (New York: George H. Doran Company, n.d.), IV, 199.

and that it is found in the New Testament only in Romans 12:2 and Titus 3:5. In addition, the noun in Romans 12:2 and its related verb

ἀνακαινοῦσθαι (in the New Testament only in II Cor. 4:16

and Col. 3:10) are used to set forth the idea of the daily renewal of the Holy Spirit.¹⁸ Add to this the fact that E. F. Scott¹⁹ declares that in Titus 3:5-7 the cardinal Pauline doctrine is presented as the necessary foundation of all Christian teaching, and the latter interpretation appears to be the preferred one. The quality of this regeneration is that it brings about a process of being made anew daily.

The efficient cause of the miracle of rebirth and renewal is shown to be the power of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit has been "poured out upon us richly through Jesus Christ our Savior." All of the work of the community of the new covenant is ineffective without the power of the Spirit. At the same time, the passage is written with an awareness that behind it all is the triune God: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

The result of this salvation is clarified in the words: "that we might be justified by his grace and become heirs in hope of eternal life." It brings about justification by the grace of God. In His mercy, God forgives our sins so that we are brought into a right relationship with Him. And God's forgiveness and justification brings

18. Vide supra in the treatment of this noun and its related verb in the section on "Renewal" in this chapter. This is not to say that the "renewal" in Titus 3:5 refers to a 'second blessing' of the Holy Spirit after the event of regeneration. Cf. J. Dey, op. cit., p. 136.

19. This recalls Paul's usage. Cf. H.A.A. Kennedy, The Theology of the Epistles, p. 230.

about a fundamental renovation of the entire man. By being adopted sons of God the believers are made "heirs" of a lasting new life.²⁰ The "eternal life" is possessed in its beginnings already through the work of the Holy Spirit, but the believer shall possess it in its fullness at the end of this age. With the palingenesia the believer is an heir according to hope and he knows that on the part of God the hope is certain. Therefore, the whole passage speaks of a new beginning of life, of a renewal which transforms and continues to renew, and of an eschatological outlook which anticipates the close of this age when the consummation of this regeneration will take place.²¹

THE ORIGIN OF THIS CONCEPT OF REGENERATION

As has already been pointed out, the Greek term παλιγγενεσία and its related ideas had a wide usage in the Hellenistic and Judaic circles by the first Christian century. In its early usage the term is found in connection with the Stoic ideas of the cyclical rebirth of the world. The Stoics believed that at certain destined periods of time the universe would undergo a great conflagration. After this burning, there would be an ἀποκταΐσις of the world order.²² Later, the term was used in the mystery religions. When a person was initiated into the mystery religions he was said to have been "reborn." However, the

20. M. Dibelius, Die Pastoralbriefe, p. 112.

21. Cf. F. Büchsel, op. cit., I, 688. V. Jacono, op. cit., p. 373.

22. Vide supra in the section on "Regeneration in Stoic Philosophy," Chapter I.

23. See above in "Rebirth in the Mystery Religions," Chapter I, and M. Dibelius, Die Pastoralbriefe, p. 111.

thought of Titus 3:5 is far removed from the magical process of the mystery religions. In Diaspora Judaism, the word is used by Josephus in the sense of national renewal and Cicero even selects this Greek noun to describe his return from exile.²⁴ Hence, the home of the term palingenesia was the Stoa, but it had penetrated the daily language of that era.

The only other place where the word occurs in the New Testament is Matthew 19:28. The Matthean usage is significant because within a Judaic context this term was chosen as a translation for a Semitic idea about the new world or new age, which was well-known in Jewish eschatology. As has been suggested, it is easy to see how the meaning of palingenesia was expanded to refer to the rebirth into newness of life which takes place when a person accepts Christ as Savior and Lord.²⁵ Moreover, this idea of life beginning all over is not far from the general thought expressed in II Corinthians 5:17.²⁶ Since palingenesia was in common usage among the educated, and could be used to translate the Jewish thought in Matthew 19:28, and was employed in Titus 3:5 to convey a thought which approaches that found in II Corinthians 5:17, it seems unnecessary to say that palingenesia was taken over from the mystery

24. Cf. the "Early Usage of Palingenesia," Chapter I, and F. Büchsel, op. cit., T.W.N.T., I, 685 ff.

25. See above in the discussion of Matthew 19:28 in Chapter III.

26. Cf. the section entitled "New Creation" in this chapter. G. R. Beasley-Murray, Baptism in the New Testament (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1962), p. 212. B. S. Easton, The Pastoral Epistles, p. 100.

religions.²⁷

In the same way, it could be said that it would have been possible for Paul to have written the saying in Titus 3:5-8a. In fact, P. N. Harrison²⁸ points out that the only word in this passage which does not occur in the ten Pauline epistles is palingenesia. The same author goes even further by listing the following as Pauline phrases which are related to one or more passages in his epistles:²⁹

οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων . . . ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ
λουτροῦ . . . πνεύματος . . . πλουσίως
διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . δικαιοθύντες
τῇ ἐκεῖνου χάριτι κληρονόμοι . . .

In addition to this listing, the word ἀνακαίνωσις should be added because it was first coined by Paul in writing Romans 12:2, and used nowhere else in the New Testament except in Titus 3:5. Even Dibelius³⁰ admits that the words of this saying remind one of the genuine letters of Paul. Moreover, the language relating to such things as the appearance of grace, the deliverance effected by God, the out-pouring of the Spirit through the exalted Christ, and the inheritance of eternal life are representative of Jewish-Christian eschatology.³¹ Even B. S.

27. W. L. Knox, Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity, pp. 90 ff., esp. p. 94. V. Jacono, op. cit., p. 371. Otherwise by M. Dibelius, Die Pastoralbriefe, p. 111, and R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 142.

28. The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles, Appendix IV at Titus 3:5-8a.

29. Ibid., pp. 169-172, 175. The related passages are Romans 3:20, 24; 11:6; I Corinthians 6:9 f.; Galatians 2:16; 4:3-7, and Ephesians 2:3-8, 9; 5:26.

30. Die Pastoralbriefe, p. 113. Cf. H.A.A. Kennedy, The Theology of the Epistles, p. 231.

31. Hans Windisch, Taufe und Sünde im ältesten Christentum bis auf

Easton³² declares that everything implied by palingenesia in Titus 3:5 is seen in Paul's teaching in Romans 6:3-6 and Colossians 2:11-13. With the common usage of palingenesia in his day, and the idea being not far from that of II Corinthians 5:17, and the Apostle's willingness to use special language formulations relating to the idea of birth, there appears to be no overruling cause which would prohibit Paul from writing this saying.³³ Even if the position were taken that Paul did not write this passage, it is significant that Paul's teaching so strongly stressed the transformation which took place when one became a Christian that a disciple of Paul who compiled the Pastoral Epistles believed that the words he was writing were in keeping with Pauline thought. However, because of the unsolved problem concerning the authorship of the Pastorals and of certain fragments in them, no final conviction can be posited in this matter.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF REGENERATION TO BAPTISM IN TITUS

The matter of the relationship of regeneration to baptism does not lend itself to an easy solution. One reason for this difficulty is that the critical writers often tend to exaggerate the differences between Paul and the writers of the Pastorals. Yet, the language of Titus 3:5 appears to be mainly in harmony with the Pauline tradition.

Origenes (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1908), p. 247. Cf. F. Büchsel, op. cit., T.W.N.T., I, 688.

32. The Pastoral Epistles, p. 102.

33. Cf. James Denney, op. cit., A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, II, 487.

This passage reminds the Christians that they were not saved by any works of man which might bring about a right relationship to God. The change which took place in them had its beginning in God. It was God who manifested His goodness and love for mankind. According to His mercy, they were saved "through a washing of regeneration and a renewal of the Holy Spirit." Although the word *λουτρον* is not the usual word for baptism it is held by most commentators that this is a reference to baptism.

E. F. Scott³⁴ asserts that the attitude of this passage toward baptism is a great deal different from Paul's baptismal teaching because the idea of dying and rising with Christ is missing, there is no mention of faith in Christ, and baptism is little more than a purifying rite. While the passage does not connect baptism with the idea of sharing in Christ's death and resurrection, this could also be said of passages in the Pauline Epistles, because Paul himself does not connect baptism with dying and rising with Christ in all of his references to baptism.³⁵ In reference to the lack of insistence on faith, several items should be presented. First, there is found in Titus 3:8 the perfect participle of the verb *πιστεῖω* followed by *θεός* in the dative case. The meaning of this expression is "those who have come to believe in God" (Titus 3:8, N.E.B.), or "those who have set their faith in God." Moreover, the words "not because of deeds . . . but in virtue of his own

34. The Pastoral Epistles, pp. 176-177.

35. Cf. "The Relation of Baptism to Rising with Christ" in the section on "Spiritual Resurrection" in this Chapter.

mercy" suggest the twofold contrast between "works" and "faith." Thus, it can be said that faith is definitely an integral part of the theological content of the third chapter of Titus.³⁶

As has already been mentioned, the idea of "washing" in Titus 3:5 is related to the use of the same term in Ephesians 5:26. If one recalls that E. F. Scott³⁷ declares in his commentary on Ephesians that "it may be confidently said that there is nothing in Ephesians which Paul may not have written," and adds to this the fact that the idea of a purifying rite is plainly set forth in Ephesians 5:26, then it is evident that the purifying rite in Titus should not be thought of as un-Pauline.

In the light of this, can one justify the view that according to the attitude of baptism in Titus 3:5 Christianity is on its way towards a magical estimate of the rite? According to H. G. Marsh,³⁸ in the phrase *λουτρού παλιγγενεσίας* "we have language that brings us into touch with that realm of Hellenistic thought which later exercised considerable influence over Christian teaching." To declare that this passage emphasizes the magical side of baptism is to overlook entirely the stress on the divine love poured out on mankind. A more accurate point of view is given by W. F. Flemington as follows:³⁹

36. G. R. Beasley-Murray, Baptism in the New Testament, pp. 213-214.

37. The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon and to the Ephesians, p. 121.

38. The Origin and Significance of the New Testament Baptism, p. 150.

39. The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism, p. 104.

If the essence of magic lies in the belief that by the use of material media a man can exert compulsion on the deity to fulfil his desires, then magical ideas are surely absent from this passage. The "washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit" is no merely human device: it is rather the instrument of the divine goodness, the means whereby the free unmerited love of God is imparted to men and makes them "heirs to the hope of life eternal."

The most reasonable interpretation is given by L. S. Thornton who suggests that palingenesia in Titus 3:5 refers to the "rebirth" of the Messianic community which was ushered in on the day of Pentecost. He writes:⁴⁰

The new creation of the Messianic community as a whole had its historical inauguration in the event of Pentecost. Through baptism the individual is placed within that event. He is there taken into the eschatological crisis of re-birth, whereby the people of God were once for all renewed. The descent of the Spirit at Pentecost was that event whereby the new life of the risen Christ was precipitated into his community. By sharing the outpoured Spirit they were re-born in Christ. They partook of the new life which is his life; but also that fact constituted a renewal of their nature effected by the Holy Spirit.

This explanation is reinforced by the fact that Peter's speech on Solomon's porch in Acts 3:21 makes use of the Stoic term ἀποκατάστασις which is related to παλιγγενεσία. Peter construes this "restoration of all things" as being "these days" in Acts 3:24. From the study of this passage it appears that the term παλιγγενεσία has become a part of the paranetic tradition of the primitive church and that it is related to the concept of "new creation" in the Pauline epistles and to the idea of "birth from above" in the Gospel of John.

40. The Common Life in the Body of Christ, pp. 190-191.

VII. CONCLUSION

The basic idea of the concept of regeneration is "beginning again" spiritually. With this in mind, Paul presents his thought of regeneration by means of several forms of expression. First, he describes it as an entry into "life." Man does not possess this life by his physical birth, it comes only as a gift of God when man surrenders himself to God. In the Adam/Christ theology, Adam is the one who brings death while Christ is the One who brings life. It is the life of Jesus which comes to be manifested in the believer. This is made possible by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. The believer participates in the new life in this present age, but he will experience its fulfillment at the end of this age.

One of the clearest expressions of Paul's concept of regeneration is found in his use of the metaphor of resurrection. The idea of spiritual resurrection is one of the basic metaphors of the concept of regeneration in the New Testament. Paul employs the stages of baptism--the descent into the water, the submersion, and the rising up out of the water--to describe what takes place when one becomes a Christian (Romans 6:3 ff.). There is a real sharing in Christ's death which includes a dying to sin. The old man is crucified with Christ. There is a "stripping right off" of the believer's own "body of flesh" (Col. 2:9-14). Then, there is a spiritual resurrection which takes effect in the present so that the believers begin to live $\epsilon\nu \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omega \text{ 'Ιησοῦ}$ (Rom. 6:11). The Spirit gives them power to carry out God's will and they begin living the life of the new aeon.

The ideas which are connected with the concept of union with

Christ are thought of as Paul's "mysticism." The Apostle's mysticism refers to his faith in Christ understood with a particular closeness and zeal. It is a Christ-mysticism whereby the believer becomes one with Christ. The source of Paul's mysticism is to be seen in the teaching of the primitive Christian community and undoubtedly in the Apostle's own personal experience. By baptism the believer undergoes a dying and rising with Christ which transforms him to become a part of the corporate body of Christ.

Another very strong expression of Paul's concept of regeneration is found in his doctrine of the new creation. By the creative power of God a radical renovation takes place in the believer's inner being to make him a "new man." The "putting on" of the new man connotes the putting on of the Second Adam through which mankind is united in a oneness under the lordship of Christ. In addition to the idea of creating the "new man," Paul intensifies his treatment of the concept of new creation in his teaching of kainē ktisis. Paul's concept of kainē ktisis refers primarily to the radical transformation of those who come to be "in Christ." To be "in Christ" brings about a very intimate, personal relationship between Christ and the believer so as to make the person's inner being come alive and to enable him to enter into the "new creation" or "new world." There is also a secondary connotation in the idea of kainē ktisis which refers to the coming "new creation" of all things at the End and includes the final renovation of man and the world. The roots of this doctrine could possibly be traced to this idea as it is found in the Rabbinic literature, or still better in the apocalyptic literature, but the most likely origin of Paul's concept is probably to be found in Deutero-Isaiah's hope of the renovation of creation in the

future.

The Apostle did not think in terms of the convert being transformed by his entry into the Christian faith without any change thereafter. To the contrary, the Pauline terms of renewal--some of which he coined to express himself more forcefully--emphasize that there is a daily making new again of the inmost being of the Christian inasmuch as he is a member of the Body of Christ. By the power of the Spirit the disciples are being renewed day by day. This continuing renewal is possible only for those who have entered into sonship to God through the work of the unique Son, Jesus Christ. Paul's broad concept of regeneration includes emphasis upon the transformation which takes place when one comes to be "in Christ," and upon the continuing renewal by the Spirit throughout one's earthly existence, and finally upon the hope of the new creation of the world at the parousia of Christ.

The Apostle uses certain special language formulations which appear to imply that he could visualize the entrance into the Christian faith as a birth. Then, either Paul or a disciple of Paul affirms in the saying of Titus 3:5 that those who believe are saved through the washing of regeneration and the renewal of the Holy Spirit. It is by God's grace that the believers are radically changed to begin a new existence. Through the "appearing" of Jesus Christ and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, there was inaugurated the regeneration of the people of God. Through baptism those who believe come to partake of this salvation provided by God. The wonder of this transformation in the Titus passage is heightened when it is seen that the Spirit continues to renew the Christian's inner self every day of his earthly existence.

Thereby, the Christians become "heirs in hope of eternal life."

CHAPTER V

THE GENERAL EPISTLES

THE GENERAL EPISTLES¹

Introduction

The most explicit terminology presenting the metaphor of new birth is found in the General Epistles and the Johannine writings. In the General Epistles, the significant Greek terms relating to regeneration are ἀποκτείνω in James 1:18, ἀναγεννᾶν in I Peter 1:3, 23, and ἀρτιγέννητος in I Peter 2:2. Since the Epistle of James contains the more primitive and untechnical metaphor of birth,² this epistle will be treated first, after which the more developed idea of regeneration in I Peter will be considered.

1. Although the Epistles of John are technically classified with the General Epistles, they will be studied in the next chapter on the Johannine writings.

2. E. G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter, p. 392.

I. THE EPISTLE OF JAMES

The passage which suggests the new birth in the Epistle of James reads:

- 4 Of his own will he bring us forth by the word of truth that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures.
(James 1:18)

Just prior to this verse James asserts that God does not send temptation, but that every good endowment is from above coming down from the Father. Verse 18 is intended to show what God's real attitude and purpose are.

A key word for the discussion concerning this verse is the verb

ἀποκτείνω which means "to give birth to," "to bear young," or "to bring forth."¹ This term and the other words of this verse can be interpreted in one of two ways, either soteriologically or cosmologically.

First, the soteriological interpretation explains James 1:18 as a passage which speaks of regeneration and sees in the term "first fruits" a reference to those who have been regenerated.² Second, there are some writers³ who hold that the passage refers to the original creation. In

1. H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, op. cit., p. 205. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, op. cit., p. 93.

2. Hans Windisch, Die katholischen Briefe (Vol. XV of H.z.N.T., second edition; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1930), p. 10. Joseph B. Mayor, The Epistle of St. James, p. 200. James Moffatt, The General Epistles: James, Peter, and Judas (M.N.T.C.; New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, n.d.), p. 21.

3. Prominent among the more recent writers are: Carl-Martin Edsman, "Schöpferwille und Geburt Jac. I.18: Eine Studie zur altchristlichen Kosmologie," Z.N.W., XXXVIII (1939), pp. 25 ff. and L. E. Elliott-Binns, "James I.18: Creation or Redemption?" N.T.S., III (1957), pp. 148-161, esp. 156 ff.

the second interpretation, it is maintained that "us" in 1:18 means mankind in general. This is substantiated by the fact that the discussion of 1:12-17 is from a general point of view without any mention of Christians as such. The passage, according to this approach, refers to the supremacy over other creatures which God gave to man at the first creation. The "word of truth" would be interpreted as God's word spoken to man at creation (Gen. 1:28). Also, the terms "first fruits" would be related to the paradisaical condition of man. This explanation is aided by the fact that *κτισμῶτων* is a word which does not explicitly mean "men." Moreover, the term *βουληθεῖς* is said to refer to the divine parentage at the creation of the word.

In answer to the cosmological interpretation J. H. Ropes declares:⁴

"The objection which seems decisive against this is that the figure of begetting was not used for creation (Gen. 1:26 does not cover this), whereas it came early into use with reference to the Christians, who deemed themselves 'sons of God'." In addition, other significant weaknesses⁵ in the cosmological argument are that vs. 18 actually emphasizes the divine will of salvation, that the cosmological thought explanation of "first fruits" is not convincing, and that the soteriological explanation of vs. 18 makes a better connection with vs. 19. For these reasons, the soteriological interpretation appears to be preferred as the

4. A. Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of St. James (I.C.C.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1948), p. 166.

5. Cf. Martin Dibelius, Der Brief des Jakobus, ed. Heinrich Greeven (XV Abteilung of the Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über des Neue Testament, founded by H.A.W. Meyer, eighth edition; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), pp. 99 ff.

primary connotation of the passage.

According to the soteriological explanation of this passage, the term "us" refers to Christians. In this case, ἀπεκύντην describes the new birth through the "word of truth." This approach agrees with the proper meaning of the term since it is a "medical word for birth as the close of pregnancy."⁶ The clause would then be translated: "he [God] gave us birth to be a kind of firstfruits of his creatures" (James 1:18, N.E.B.). The only other usage of this verb in the New Testament is found in James 1:15 which asserts: "Then desire when it has conceived gives birth to sin; and sin when it is full-grown brings forth [ἀποκύει] death." This verse presents a sharp contrast to the thought of verse 18. In verse 15 there is pictured the wanton procreation of sin from desire, while in verse 18 the creative procreation is described from God.⁷

6. G. Abbott-Smith, op. cit., p. 51. Moreover, the use of the verb is not restricted to the female principle. Cf. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, op. cit., p. 93. Clement of Alexandria carries on a discussion centering around the metaphor of spiritual birth in Paedagogus, Book I, Chapter 6. In section 42 of chapter 6 the idea of Christ giving birth to his creatures with pains is presented with the words: "He himself begot them in the throes of His flesh." The thought there may be dependent upon James 1:18. In the same work, Clement makes ἀποκύειν equal to ἀναγεννᾶν (Paedagogus I, 6, 45). Cf. Clemens Alexandrinus, ed. Otto Stählin (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1905), I, 116. The Corpus Hermeticum IX, 3 calls the νοῦς the giver of birth to all νοήματα the good as well as the bad according to whether he received the σπέρματα from God or from the δαιμόνια. Furthermore, it is doubtful, according to Heinrich Greeven ["Ergänzungsheft," p. 13 in Martin Dibelius, Der Brief des Jakobus], that the Gnostic concept of a primitive male-female deity had any influence on ἀποκύειν in James 1:18. According to E. G. Selwyn [The First Epistle of St. Peter, p. 392], the origin of the birth metaphor in the Epistle of James is traceable to the verba Christi. The relationship of the thought of spiritual birth in James and I Peter to the idea of birth in the Hellenistic and Judaic environs will be discussed later in the treatment of I Peter 1:3.

7. H. Windisch, Die katholischen Briefe, p. 11.

Actually this contrast stresses the fact that the thought of verse 18 is the rebirth of the believer through the "word."

The figure of birth here is a drastic and very powerful expression to describe the entry into new life.⁸ James is trying to describe what a wonderful happening takes place when one is begotten again. The term *βουληθεΐς* stresses that the heavenly Father proves His love by His act and will to bring about the salvation of man.⁹ God was not influenced by any human merit, but He deliberately chose according to the purpose of His will to make possible the spiritual begetting for the benefit of man.

This salvation is brought about by means of the "word of truth" (*λόγῳ ἀληθείας*). This expression has reference to the gospel.¹⁰ The word of truth is the seed as presented in the Parable of the Sower.¹¹ When men hear the gospel of salvation and respond to it,

8. Adolf von Harnack, "Terminologie," p. 110.

9. Compare the thought of John 1:13: "who were born, not of blood nor of the will of flesh nor of the will of man, but of God." See also Ephesians 1:5-6.

10. The omission of the article in *λόγος ἀληθείας* is not significant because the expression occurs without the article and with much the same meaning in II Corinthians 6:7. J. R. Ropes [op. cit., p. 167] adds that the "word of truth" includes the Jewish law as understood by Christians (cf. 1:25), but that the "word of truth" is entirely different from Philo's metaphor of the generative word of God (cf. *Legum Allegoria* III, 150 in the L.C.L.). On the other hand, James Moffatt [*The General Epistles: James, Peter, and Judas*, p. 21] suggests that it was easier for James to speak of the "word of truth" as the regenerating medium because the Hellenistic theology of Egypt had thought in terms of the creative Word of God at work in the world of men.

11. Luke 8:11. Compare I Peter 1:23.

they are made sons of God. Therefore, the believers are born anew by the word of truth being implanted in their hearts (*ἐμφύτος λόγος*, 1:21). Upon the implantation of the word of truth, God's will begins to be revealed to them, but they must continue to listen to this word (1:19) in order to live their lives in harmony with God's purpose. Moreover, since they must be "doers of the word" (1:22), it is implied that the believers are given power to live according to this word which reveals God's will.¹²

The aim of being born anew, James concludes, is that they should be "a kind of first fruits of his creatures" [*ἀπαρχήν τινά τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων*]. The word "first fruits" was used as a technical term for sacrificial first fruits of any kind, including animals, which were considered as holy and belonging to God (cf. Lev. 23:10). The word *τινά* is used here to soften the metaphorical expression and means "so to say, a kind of."¹³ The expression is a figurative one which refers to Christians as "first fruits."¹⁴ Because the old Israel was said to be "holy to the Lord, the first fruits of his harvest" (Jer. 2:3), it is natural to expect this designation to be used in reference to members of the new Israel (cf. Phil. 3:3).

In the same way as the fruits which ripen first manifest the beginning of a new season of harvest so those who receive the new birth

12. P. Gennrich, *op. cit.*, p. 42. There may also be a hint here that the law of God is written in their hearts as Jeremiah (ch. 31) prophesied would take place.

13. Robert W. Funk, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

14. It is possible that this verse may have been influenced by a saying of Reuben in Genesis 49:3: "Reuben, you are my first-born, my might, and the first fruits of my strength, pre-eminent in pride and pre-eminent in power."

give evidence of a new order of things in the spiritual world.¹⁵ The term "first fruits" suggests not only being first in chronological sequence but also being first in honor. Because they have received the salvation of God they are given the pre-eminent place among His creatures. Yet, by being "first fruits," those who are regenerated are a pledge that other members of mankind should follow as a result of continued Christian missions (cf. Rom 16:5, I Cor. 16:15). The word *ΚΤΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ* means that which is created by God, but with a particular reference to men in this context.¹⁶ The designation "first fruits" in this verse does not refer to Jewish Christians to the exclusion of the Gentile ones. Since the epistle appears to be addressed to all Christians, and because nothing in the context suggests a specific reference to the Jews, the word "first fruits" includes both Jewish and Gentile Christians.¹⁷

The meaning of "first fruits" here is related in an eschatological sense to the description of Christ as the

first fruits of those who have fallen asleep For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive. But each in his own order: Christ the first fruits, then at his coming those who belong to Christ. Then comes the end . . . (I Cor. 15:20-24)

James calls all Christians the "first fruits" with the hope that the

15. W. E. Oesterley, "The General Epistle of James" (Vol. IV of The Expositor's Greek Testament; New York: George H. Doran Company, n.d.), p. 431.

16. J. H. Ropes, op. cit., p. 167.

17. B. S. Easton, "The Epistle of James" (Exegesis Commentary), I. B., XII, 20.

κτίσματα . . . --all of the creation of God, here especially the other men--will experience the gift of salvation from God.¹⁸ Therefore, James 1:18 considers regeneration as the inauguration of the new creation of the world. The Christians were just the "first fruits" of the later cosmic renewal.

18. M. Dibelius, Der Brief des Jakobus, p. 101.

II. THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER

The theme of being born again is dominant in the First Epistle of Peter. The actual figure of "rebirth" is presented in two passages of I Peter, and implied in a third.

I PETER 1:3

At the beginning of the First Epistle of Peter there is a very meaningful passage which presents the idea of rebirth as follows:

Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ! By his great mercy we have been born anew to a living hope through the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, (4) and to an inheritance which is imperishable, undefiled, and unfading, kept in heaven for you, (5) who, by God's power are guarded through faith for a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time. (I Peter 1:3-5)

Peter begins with a doxology of praise for what God has done through "our Lord Jesus Christ." God the Father sent the promised Messiah and raised Him from the dead, and through the resurrection of Christ the believers receive the new birth.

The verb ²γεννᾶν is used here and in 1:23 to express the idea of rebirth, but the term is found nowhere else in the New Testament or in the Septuagint. The term means "to beget again" or "to cause to be born again." It is used to describe the spiritual birth of Christians with the emphasis upon God's action in this matter.¹ The word "rebeget" refers to a decisive change in the believer's condition which is made possible by the resurrection of Christ.

1. L. S. Thornton, The Common Life in the Body of Christ, p. 194.

Since the idea of rebirth is found in the mystery religions, it has been said that this idea in I Peter was borrowed from this source. In the previous discussion concerning the mystery religions, it has been seen that the terms of regeneration refer to the change which took place at the initiation of the votary.² However, it cannot be assumed that these ideas of the mystery religions passed into the primitive Christian teaching because the content of the idea in the mysteries was different from the thought of rebirth in Christianity and because the terms of rebirth in the mystery religions only occur later than the first century A. D.³

The thought was also used in Jewish circles. In describing the site of ancient Sodom, Josephus uses the word ἄναγεννώμενην to picture the ashes as living again in the fruits. He writes: "Still, too, may one see ashes reproduced [ἄναγεννώμενην] in the fruits, which from their outward appearance would be thought edible,

2. Vide supra in the section on "Rebirth in the Mystery Religions," Chapter I. As has been mentioned in Chapter I, Sallustius in his work Περὶ Θεῶν καὶ Κόσμου (Ch. IV) employs the word ἄναγεννώμενην in describing the Attis festival; however, this writing is from the fourth century A. D. Furthermore, while R. Reitzenstein has the word ἀναγεννήθης in his text of Poimandres [p. 339, line 12], E. G. Selwyn [The First Epistle of Peter, p. 122], declares that the correct text should have the word ἐγεννήθη which means that the passage refers to birth rather than rebirth. The ideas of rebirth in connection with the taurobolium and with the Isiac initiation as recorded in Apuleius' Metamorphoses XI, 21 are both later than New Testament times. Cf. F. Büchsel, op. cit., T.W.N.T., I, 671 f.

3. Compare Richard Perdelwitz, Die Mysterienreligion und das Problem des I. Petrusbriefe (XI. Band, 3 Heft of Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1911), pp. 37 ff. with E. G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter, pp. 305 ff.

but on being plucked with the hand dissolve into smoke and ashes."⁴ Philo (De Aeternitate Mundi 8) selects the expression ἀναγέννησιν κόσμου to explain the Stoic teaching about the renewal of the world, and just after that he employs the word παλιγγενεσία to speak of the same idea.⁵ These examples and others which have been cited previously demonstrate that the words ἀναγέννησις and παλιγγενεσία have become familiar even in a non-technical meaning among the educated by the first century A. D. Therefore, it cannot be proved that the occurrence of ἀναγεννᾶν in I Peter is dependent upon the mystery religions.⁶

In Graeco-Jewish circles these terms had come to mean "any decisively new stage in nature, history or personal life."⁷ This is the general connotation which the New Testament took over, but the New Testament writers filled the Greek terms of rebirth with a Christian content. They used these terms to express the change which took place in Christian conversion. In using a rich vocabulary Peter employed the word ἀναγεννᾶν to describe this change.

In Jewish thought there was a tendency to shy away from the idea of rebirth. Nevertheless, the metaphor of begetting and related thoughts can be found in Jewish sources. The most prominent figure of begetting in the Old Testament occurs in Psalm 2:7: "You are my son, this day I

4. The Jewish Wars IV, viii, 4. E. T. in Josephus, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, L.C.L., Vol. III, pp. 143 and 145.

5. Vide supra in "Regeneration in Stoic Philosophy," Chapter I.

6. F. Büchsel, op. cit., T.W.N.T., I, 672.

7. E. G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter, p. 122.

have begotten you."⁸ This passage was probably interpreted Messianically among the Jews by the first Christian century and it is quoted several times in the New Testament. These factors give additional stress to the influence of the passage. The figure of birth is also found in the Rabbinic literature. Here the proselyte who has passed over into Judaism is described as being "like a new-born child" and "like a babe one day old."⁹ Moreover, the metaphor of birth occurs in the writings of Philo and the Qumran literature.¹⁰ Since Christianity sprang from the Judaic faith it is easier to assign the figure of birth to sources within the Jewish tradition than to think of borrowing from the Hellenistic milieu. Of course, it should be kept in mind that there were Hellenizing tendencies in Judaism in the first century.

The place of origin for the idea of rebirth in I Peter, is probably to be found in the verba Christi in Mark 10:14-15.¹¹ In this

8. Vide supra in the section entitled "A Metaphor of Begetting in the Old Testament," Chapter II. In addition, see the metaphor of the rebirth of Israel after the Exile (Isaiah 66:8-9) briefly pointed out in "The Idea of the New Creation" in "The Old Testament."

9. See b Yebamoth 486 and Gerim II, 5, respectively, which are treated in the section on "Proselytes," Chapter II. Even the concept of new creation in the Judaic background is very similar to the idea of regeneration. Cf. Strack and Billerbeck, op. cit., II, 421 ff.

10. Vide supra in the sections on "Hellenistic Judaism: Philo Judaeus" and "The Qumran Literature," Chapter II.

11. E. G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter, p. 123. Notice that Mark 10:14-15 is a partially parallel passage of Matthew 18:3 which is somewhat fully treated above in Chapter III. Charles Bigg [A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude (I.C.C., Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark 1901), p. 100] is of the opinion that the thought of rebirth in I Peter was suggested by John 3. Likewise, Alan M. Stibbs and A. F. Walls, The First Epistle General of Peter (The Tyndale New Testament Commentaries. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1959), p. 74.

train of thought the passage in Matthew 19:28 should be mentioned. Here in a passage which is rooted in Palestinian Judaism, the writer translates a saying of Jesus from Aramaic into Greek and selects the term $\pi α λ ι γ γ ε ν ε σ ι α$ which has no Semitic equivalent in order to write his Greek translation of the saying. From this it appears that Greek terms of rebirth were somewhat fluent expressions among the Greek-speaking Jews of Palestine.¹² Furthermore, the idea of rebirth here is related to the Pauline and deuterio-Pauline passages in Romans 6:1-11, II Corinthians 5:17 and Titus 3:5. In fact, F. W. Beare¹³ declares that although Paul does not use the exact terms of "regeneration," the underlying thought of regeneration in I Peter--though not the technical terms--are derived from Paul. Professor Beare continues by saying that the "newness of life" ($καὶ ν ό τ η ς ἡ ω ῆ ς$, Romans 6:4) is "the precise equivalent" of the life to which men are "re-begotten" in I Peter. There is also a relationship between the thought of I Peter 1:3 and Titus 3:5.¹⁴ This is evident in that the term $ἀ ν α γ ε ν ν ᾶ ν$ in I Peter has a related noun $ἀ ν α γέννησις$ which is a synonym of $\pi α λ ι γ γ ε ν ε σ ι α$, also that both passages describe regeneration as the result of God's mercy, and that both suggest the idea of being heirs of eternal life. Therefore, the use of $ἀ ν α γ ε ν ν ᾶ ν$ in I Peter is in accord with much of the general concept of regeneration in the New Testament.

12. Cf. F. Büchsel, op. cit., T.W.N.T., I, 673, n. 9.

13. The First Epistle of Peter (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1947), pp. 55 f.

14. Cf. J. Dey, op. cit., pp. 151 f.

have become sons.¹⁸ To describe this Christian inheritance, the spiritual Canaan, Peter uses three expressive words: "imperishable" (ἀφθαρτος), "undefiled" (ἁμῖαντος), and "unfading" (ἀμάραντος). Furthermore, in the stresses of their everyday living lest they think they will not hold out to reach their inheritance, Peter reminds them that they are continually being guarded by God's power. This power of God is the assurance of ultimate victory, but men must lay hold on this power by the exercise of faith.¹⁹ The reborn men are being protected by the power of God until the final universal triumph of God at the last time.

I PETER 1:23

The only other passage in the New Testament which employs the verb ἀναγεννᾶν is I Peter 1:23:

You have been born anew, not of perishable seed but of imperishable, through the living and abiding word of God.

Just prior to this verse Peter affirms that true brotherly love can only manifest itself in a heart which is consecrated through obedience to the truth (1:22). This obedience is proved at conversion (cf. Romans 6:17). They are the people whose "faith and hope are in God" (1:21). Moreover, the spirit of benevolence to all is nurtured by the affection which united the members of the Christian community as in a family.

18. F.J.A. Hort, The First Epistle of St. Peter (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1898), p. 35.

19. I Peter 1:5. A. M. Hunter, "The First Epistle of Peter" (Exegesis Commentary), I. B., XII, 95.

After this short exhortation, Peter goes on to describe the salvation experience in terms of rebirth. The Christians are

ἀναγεγεννημένοι, which carries the reader back to verse

3.²⁰ This passage and the one at 2:1 ff. appear to be a part of a baptismal

instruction.²¹ Being born again of imperishable seed in I Peter has been

compared to an idea in the Hermetic literature. In the Hermetic concept,

man's soul receives the σπέρμα of God and is thought to be

impregnated by the divine creativity.²² Actually, this suggestion should

be considered as unnecessary.²³ The correct understanding of this passage

is seen in the Christian thought found in context at hand. The Christians

are those who "were ransomed from their futile ways" inherited from their

fathers and were ransomed "with the precious blood of Christ" (1:18-19).

Moreover, the process here is described as being effected by the "word of

God" (1:23). Therefore, the imperishable seed should be understood in

reference to the grace of God which the Christians had come to know by

experience.

Through the truth, or, in other words, διὰ λόγου

ἡμῶντος Θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος the new birth is brought

about. The "word of God" is the mediating agent in the "sowing" to which

20. J.W.C. Wand [The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1934), p. 60] remarks that the general sense of this passage is clearly that of John 3:3.

21. Philip Carrington, The Primitive Christian Catechism, pp. 35 ff.

22. Cf. Corpus Hermeticum XIII, 1-2.

23. E. G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter, p. 307.

the Christians owe their new existence.²⁴ The Stoic concept of the Logos Spermatikos or seminal reason which is reproductive in human life may appear on the surface to be similar to the thought of I Peter, but the Christian concept is different.²⁵ The word of God here is "the good news which was preached to you" (1:25). It is the saving revelation of Jesus Christ who "was made manifest" (1:20). The natural life of man is impermanent so it is "of corruptible seed," while the new life of the believer is permanent because it is from "incorruptible seed." The new life bestowed upon the believer is brought about by the creative act of God.

The results of being reborn are significant. There must be obedience to the truth even before the believer understands it fully, and this obedience helps him to come to understand it.²⁶

Then, the obedience makes the soul holy. The eternal life which God grants to us is a life of holiness. It should be noticed, moreover, that by being born anew the Christian believer is placed under the imperative of "you must love one another fervently from the heart" (1:22). This means that reborn men have become a part of the community of the new covenant, and the new life which has been given them must express itself in the love of the brethren. Through His Son God has given unto us the privilege of sonship by virtue of the rebirth which must issue in a life of purity and love.

24. F. W. Beare, The First Epistle of Peter, p. 86. H. Windisch [Die katholischen Briefe, p. 58] adds in this connection that the word of God participates in God's essence.

25. James Moffatt, The General Epistles: James, Peter, and Judas, p. 111.

26. Charles Bigg, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, p. 122.

I PETER 2:2

The final passage in this epistle which suggests the idea of regeneration occurs in I Peter 2:1-3:

So put away all malice and all guile and insincerity and envy and all slander. (2) Like newborn babes, long for the pure spiritual milk, that by it you may grow up to salvation; (3) for you have tasted the kindness of the Lord.

The words "like newborn babes" (ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη) suggest that a change has taken place in the lives of his readers and that behind this change lies the concept of rebirth in I Peter.²⁷ I Peter 2:1 f. adds to what has already been said concerning the experience of regeneration. Here regeneration is the beginning of the new life, a supernatural process which has a realistic effect on the existence of the believer. "Newborn babes" is an apt figure to describe those who have been "begotten again."

Concerning the source of this expression, it could be pointed out that the proselyte upon his entrance into Judaism was said to be "like a child newly born." However, the conversion of the proselyte to Judaism was understood differently from the Christian concept of regeneration.²⁸ Comparisons could also be made with the thought of rebirth in the mystery religions and Philo; however, what has been said concerning the relationship of these ideas to I Peter 1:3 applies to this passage as well. The thought of I Peter 2:2 need not be dependent upon any of these ideas. In fact, according to Charles Bigg, this passage recalls Matthew 18:3: "Truly, I

27. F. Büchsel, "ἀρτιγέννητος," T.W.N.T., I, 671.

28. Vide supra in the section on "Proselytes," Chapter II.

say to you, unless you turn and become like children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven."²⁹

In I Peter 2:1 there is the admonition "to put off" (ἀποθέμενοι) the base traits of their former existence in paganism. The use of ἀποθέσθαι along with the particle οὖν and with κακία probably demonstrates that this passage was a part of a form used in the instruction of catechumens and of those already baptized.³⁰ Since it appears to be a part of a primitive Christian catechism, the thought of baptism seems to be assumed although it is not mentioned.³¹ In this case, the privilege of rebirth includes the duty upon those who have come out of paganism into the Christian fellowship to separate themselves immediately from the sins of their former manner of existence. It should be pointed out that the list of these vices--malice, treachery, hypocrisy, jealousy and slander--are all opposed to the φιλαδέλφεια (1:22), and cannot be tolerated in the community of love.

To the contrary, the newly begotten must "desire" (ἐπιποθήσατε) spiritual nourishment. The thought is expressed figuratively by saying that they must long for "the pure spiritual milk" (τὸ λογικὸν ἡδονὸν γάλα). This "spiritual milk" is the quality of

29. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, p. 126. Also, E. G. Selwyn [The First Epistle of St. Peter, p. 392] suggests that most primitive phrase in the use of the metaphor of birth is possibly Peter's ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη.

30. Philip Carrington, The Primitive Christian Catechism, pp. 32 ff.

31. On the other hand, F. Büchsel [op. cit., T.W.N.T., I, 671] appears to hold as questionable the thought that I Peter 2:2 assumes baptism.

nourishment which is proper for the life which is mediated by the word (*λόγος* , 1:23).³² According to Peter, reborn men will always be babes in the sense that they will always have a desire for the nourishment of the Spirit and a need for growth.³³ By this nourishment they may grow unto the full spiritual development which will be manifest at the "last time." The rebirth of the believer begins the process of growth which leads to eternal salvation. Therefore, the individual regeneration is a microcosmic prelude to the universal palingenesis spoken of in Matthew 19:28.³⁴

32. There are accounts that sometimes in the later church those who had just been baptized were given milk and honey to suggest the thought of "newborn babes." The cup of milk was also given to the initiates in the mystery cults. However, Peter is probably thinking here of Psalm 34:8: "O taste and see that the Lord is good! Happy is the man who takes refuge in him!" This point of view is given added weight because Peter continues, "for you have tasted the kindness of the Lord" (I Peter 2:3). Cf. James Moffatt, The General Epistles: James, Peter and Judas, pp. 113 f.

33. Charles Bigg, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, p. 126.

34. H. Windisch, Die katholischen Briefe, p. 59.

III. CONCLUSION

The metaphor of birth is not quite identical in James and I Peter.

In James 1:18 ²ἈΠΟΚΥΕΙΝ means "to bear" or "to bring forth."

On the other hand, ²ἀναγεννᾶν in I Peter 1:3 and 23 denotes

"to beget again" or "to cause to be born again." Both the use of the term "rebeget" and the more complete treatment of this idea in I Peter appear to show that the Epistle of Peter did more to deepen and extend the teaching of regeneration than did the Epistle of James.¹

In the Epistle of James the basic idea of regeneration is presented with the simple expression "to give birth to." Having in mind a spiritual birth, James declares that God bestows upon His children the marvelous gift of the new birth. The clear-cut statement of James 1:18 is a strong expression to explain the entrance into the Christian faith. Being the giver of the Good, God by His action and will is the author of the salvation of man. The spiritual birth is brought about by means of the "word of truth," the gospel, which is implanted within the believer. The "word" gives both guidance and strength to live according to God's will. The purpose of the change is that they should be "a kind of first fruits of his creatures." By becoming sons of God, they are the first to enter into the order of the new creation. They are also given the highest place among His creatures and are set apart as God's possession. To

1. Martin Dibelius, Der Brief des Jakobus, p. 102. J. M. Robinson, "Regeneration," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. G. A. Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), IV, 27.

James this means the beginning of the age of the new birth, the desire that all men might receive the "word," and the hope of the renewal of all creation.

A more developed idea of regeneration is described in the First Epistle of Peter. This epistle uses the verb ἀναγεννᾶν and this verb has a noun ἀναγέννησις which is synonymous with παλιγγενεσία. Therefore, the idea of regeneration is forcefully presented in this book of the New Testament.

In I Peter 1:3, the believers are described as having been begotten again to a new kind of life. God the Father in His profound compassion is the originator of this transformation. Through the resurrection of Christ the believers receive the new birth and come to share in His eternal life. The idea of rebirth describes the convert as coming into a new existence of sonship to God. The purposive side of the change that has taken place is that the converts are granted a "living hope" by which they could look forward to the future with eager anticipation. The object hoped for was a Christian inheritance. Since they had become sons of God, they had received their inheritance as a settled possession and at the same time as something into which they should one day enter in fulness. The assurance that they will finally gain the full inheritance rests upon the fact that by the power of God they are being kept through faith for the final deliverance at the last time.

The thought of rebirth is emphasized again in I Peter 1:23 as a momentous occasion which could only be described as life beginning all over again. The added idea is that the believers are begotten again,

not of corruptible, but of the incorruptible seed. The Word of God is the means by which they are reborn. By hearing and responding to the word of the "good news which was preached" to them (1:25), they are reborn with the life of God in them. But, having received the privilege of sonship, reborn men have obligations to fulfill. They are to obey the truth which will result in the continual purifying of their souls. By listening to the "word" they will deepen their communion with God which will inevitably result in an eagerness to promote brotherly love among members of the Christian community.

The thoughts of I Peter 2:1-3 summarize the preceding passages by emphasizing that the rebirth brings about a radical transformation which affects the everyday existence of the believers. By calling them "newborn babes," Peter is probably instructing the newly-baptized converts and reminding them that the regenerate life is one of growth. They must cast off the baseness of their former existence and must long for the nourishment of the word of God. In this way, they may grow towards maturity and finally inherit salvation when Christ shall return at the palinogenesis.

CHAPTER VI

THE JOHANNINE WRITINGS

THE JOHANNINE WRITINGS¹

Introduction

After having considered the idea of the new birth in James and I Peter, the discussion turns to investigate the similar idea which is articulated in the Johannine writings. Here it shall be seen that the doctrine of salvation in the Johannine writings centers in regeneration. In an emphatic manner, John draws a contrast between the condition of the person who is a Christian and the condition of one who is not a Christian. The term which is used in the Johannine writings is $\gammaεννηθῆναι$ with a designation of source, usually $\epsilon'κ τοῦ θεοῦ$, or $\epsilon'ξ αὐτοῦ$, I John 2:29; 3:9; 4:7; 5:1, 4, 18; John 1:13; $\epsilon'κ πνεύματος$, John 3:5, 6, 8; $\epsilon'ξ ὕδατος$, 3:5, and $\alpha'νωθεν$, John 3:3, 7.

According to John, the essential term for being a Christian is "birth from God." This thought appears in a twofold form in this literature.² Birth from God appears to be a completed fact in John 1:12-13 and I John

1. It may be noticed that there is no discussion of the concept of regeneration in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The present writer is aware that there are soteriological concepts in the Epistle which could be distantly related to regeneration. Examples of these are to be seen in the idea of the new covenant and in Hebrews 6:4-6. However, as P. Gennrich [op. cit., p. 46] states, there is no real doctrine of regeneration in the Epistle. Therefore, the Epistle to the Hebrews does not need to be brought into this discussion.

2. F. Büchsel, Johannes und der hellenistische Synkretismus, p. 58.

2:29; 3:9; 4:7; 5:1-4, 18. In the third chapter of the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, the birth from God is presented as a demand. In this present study of the Johannine writings, the idea of regeneration in the Fourth Gospel will be discussed first and this will be followed by an explanation of the thought in the Johannine Epistles.

I. THE FOURTH GOSPEL

There are two passages in the Fourth Gospel where the idea of regeneration is involved. These two passages are found in the Prologue and in Jesus' conversation with Nicodemus.

JOHN 1:12-13

Among the profound thoughts set forth in the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel, the concept of regeneration is presented as follows:

But to all who received him, who believed in his name, he gave power to become children of God; (13) who were born, not of blood nor of the will of the flesh nor of the will of man, but of God. (John 1:12-13)

All men are God's children by being created by God; however, from another point of view, men still have to become God's children in the true spiritual sense.¹ It is of this becoming that John 1:12 speaks.

John says that it is possible for men to become children of God in the true sense because "all who did receive him" (ὅσοι ἐλάβον αὐτόν) were granted this privilege. To "receive him" here means to recognize the authority of Jesus as the Logos, and to accept him in obedience and faith.² In contrast to those to whom He came who "did

1. Vincent Taylor [Forgiveness and Reconciliation, pp. 94-96] expresses this by saying that all men are sons of God, but they are disobedient sons until they receive Christ as their Savior. According to the Christian faith, men by nature do not have the σπερματικὸς λόγος dwelling within them to make them children of God.

2. C. K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John, pp. 136 f. The fact that the incarnation is not explicitly mentioned until 1:14 and has a bearing on our interpretation of this passage. Becoming children of God here need not be thought of as referring only to pre-Christian Israel. John could have been thinking that before the appearance of Jesus in the

not receive him" (1:11), to all who did receive Him, He gave the heavenly birth. "His own" should have welcomed Him, or to say it another way, they should have "believed in Him" (cf. 2:11, 3:18), but many did not. This suggests the idea that entering into the Christian faith requires the cooperation of human volition (cf. 3:20 f., 5:40). The thing that they are able thereby to do is "to become children of God" (ΤΕΚΝΑ

ΘΕΟΥ ΥΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ). The only way they can attain the ΕΞ ΟΥΣΙΑ ("authority" or "right") to become children of God is by receiving Christ.³ The verb here indicates that there has been a change in the nature of those who believed and that they have entered into a new condition. The uses of the aorist infinitive demonstrates that regeneration is thought of here as the decisive fact whereby the believers have become spiritual sons of God.

They are now ΤΕΚΝΑ ΘΕΟΥ, an expression which is rarely used by John.⁴ It describes the relationship effected by the new life. In other words, they have become "sons" of God. This includes partaking in the divine life. The expression "children of God" also implies that the ones who receive the new birth form the community of love (cf. John

world the pre-incarnate Logos was in some people who thus have the right to be children of God. However, the most likely solution to the problem is that John 1:11-13 presupposes the historical ministry of Christ. Cf. C. H. Dodd, I.F.G., pp. 282 f.

3. R. H. Strachan, The Fourth Gospel (third edition; London: S.C.M. Press, Ltd., 1951), p. 101. R. H. Lightfoot, St. John's Gospel: A Commentary, ed. C. F. Evans (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 83.

4. The expression "children of God" (ΤΕΚΝΑ ΘΕΟΥ) is used only twice in the Gospel and four times in I John. In the Fourth Gospel, the term υἱός is exclusively used to refer to Christ, while τέκνα designates the Christians.

11:52).

In order to receive Christ, they must be "the ones who believe in his name" (*τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ*). To believe in His name means to accept Christ as the revelation of God and to yield allegiance to Him as Lord.⁵ In Johannine thought, the "life" is given by Christ, but men receive it only by faith.⁶

The ones who believe in His name are born to a new life through God (1:13). John emphasizes this by way of contrast. He says they receive the spiritual birth "not from blood, nor from the will of the flesh, nor from the will of the male."⁷ The topic of discussion is not that of a physical birth. There may be an analogy in the fact that at physical birth man enters into relations with the natural world so in the new birth man enters into relations with the spiritual world, but the primary emphasis here is that there is no analogy between the source of the spiritual birth and the source of that birth which is the result of the natural course of

5. C. H. Dodd, *I.F.G.*, pp. 184 f. Since *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* is used in early Christianity in reference to baptism, the idea of ownership and allegiance which is usually associated with baptism into the name of Christ appears to be applied here to faith.

6. Cf. John 9:38. It is at this point that John differs drastically from Hermeticism. According to the *Corpus Hermeticum* (I, 28), men have in themselves that which is needed to partake of immortality, and they just need to be instructed to exercise it. Cf. C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John*, p. 137.

7. In ancient time, blood was thought of as the means of procreation. E. C. Hoskyns [*The Fourth Gospel*, ed. F. N. Dewey (second edition; London: Faber and Faber, Limited, 1950), p. 147] thinks that John used the plural, "bloods," here to distinguish this particular usage from the thought that Christians are begotten of God through the blood of Christ. It should be mentioned in connection with *ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς* (fleshly desire) that John does not use *ἄρξ* in the sense of the Pauline flesh of sin. To John "flesh" is earthly without the suggestion of sinfulness connected with it. Cf. John 1:14. Adolf von Harnack, "Terminologie," p. 113, n. 3.

flesh and blood dependent on man's desire and planning. Man does not have the ability to make himself a child of God or to procreate a child of God (cf. Romans 9:16). One may be born "from blood" and thereby owe his descent to the physical nature; however, to become a child of God is not the result of any earthly source.

The ones who believe *ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννηθῆσαν* (1:13).

There may be an implied reference here to Psalm 2:7: "You are my son, today I have begotten you." By the first century, the Jews interpreted this psalm Messianically and also considered the Messiah as the representative of the true Israel. This verse of Psalm 2 is quoted in Paul's sermon at Antioch of Pisidia (Acts 13:33), where the resurrection of Jesus is said to be the "today" of Christ's being begotten the Son of God. This passage in Acts states that Jesus is the begotten of God. Then, as has been mentioned previously, there is an idea in the New Testament which expresses the thought that what happens to Christ happens to the believers. From this John may have been encouraged to express the idea that the believer is spiritually procreated from God.⁸ To be "born from God" is a new metaphor which John uses to explain the newness of the Christian life. The expression "born of God" emphasizes the nature of this new life as being "from God." God Himself is the Father of the Christian believers. They are generated (or regenerated) by the creative will of God. Therefore, this birth from God, in contrast to that from the flesh, is a new birth, a regeneration.

8. Vide supra in "A Metaphor of Begetting," Chapter II. Cf. F. Büchsel and K. H. Rengstorff, op. cit., T.W.N.T., I, 669. C. H. Dodd, I.F.G., p. 271.

A parallel thought implied in this passage is that a new creation takes place. The Prologue of John has a definite relationship to the creation account in Genesis. For this reason, Professor Dodd can comment in connection with 1:12-13: "Thus the Logos, or Wisdom, which was the original principle of creation, acts creatively once again in giving men a new birth as sons of God."⁹ Therefore, the implied idea of new creation is presented here along with the thought of new birth.¹⁰

The Gospel of John declares, in effect, that the result of the Ministry of Christ was to communicate to His followers a new birth (1:11-13). The new existence which was granted to His followers was not a life which they could gain by their own achievement but which must come from God. The new birth is dependent upon receiving the "Word" of God (Christ) and believing on His name.¹¹ John was not just using a figurative expression, but to him being born from God was a reality which made the believers immediately children of God.¹²

9. I.F.G., p. 282. Cf. E. C. Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel, p. 146.

10. A manuscript of the old Latin [b Irenaeus Tertullian] reads in a manner which causes this verse to teach the virgin birth of Christ. However, since all of the old Greek uncials read *οἱ* . . . *ἐγεννηθησαν*, this must be accepted as the preferred reading. John may have meant an implied analogy in this verse in which the new birth of Christians was to be bloodless and the result of God's will just as was the birth of Christ Himself. Cf. O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, pp. 296 f. A. T. Robertson, op. cit., V, 12.

11. This fact completely severs the idea of rebirth in Johannine thought from the mythological notions of divine generation in Hellenistic circles. Cf. C. H. Dodd, I.F.G., p. 305. William Manson, The Way of the Cross (Edinburgh: Hodder and Stoughton, 1958), pp. 22 f.

12. J. Dey, op. cit., p. 154.

JOHN 3:1-15

The more fully-developed formulation of the idea of rebirth occurs in the conversation between Jesus and Nicodemus. In the third chapter of John's Gospel, Jesus points out the need for a radical transformation in the following words:

Now there was a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews. (2) This man came to Jesus by night and said to him, "Rabbi, we know that you are a teacher come from God; for no one can do these signs that you do unless God is with him." (3) Jesus answered him, "Truly, truly, I say to you, unless one is born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God." (4) Nicodemus said to him, "How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter a second time into his mother's womb and be born?" (5) Jesus answered, "Truly, truly, I say to you, unless one is born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God. (6) That which is born of the flesh is flesh and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. (7) Do not marvel that I said to you, 'You must be born anew.' (8) The wind blows where it wills, and you hear the sound of it, but you do not know whence it comes or whither it goes; so it is with every one who is born of the Spirit." (9) Nicodemus said to him, "How can this be?" (10) Jesus answered him, "Are you a teacher of Israel, and yet you do not understand this? (11) Truly, truly, I say to you, we speak of what we know, and bear witness to what we have seen; but you do not receive our testimony. (12) If I have told you earthly things and you do not believe, how can you believe if I tell you heavenly things? (13) No one has ascended into heaven but he who descended from heaven the Son of man. (14) And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up, (15) that whoever believes in him may have eternal life." (John 3:1-15)

A man named Nicodemus, who was a Pharisee and a member of the Sanhedrin, came to talk to Jesus in the night, probably, "for fear of the Jews."¹³ The fact that Nicodemus declares "we know that you are a teacher

13. Cf. John 19:38. Walter Bauer, Das Johannesevangelium (Vol. VI of H.z.N.T., second edition; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1925), p. 47. Actually, an atmosphere of mystery is given to the entire passage. Cf. Rudolf Bultmann, Das Evangelium des Johannes (Vol. II of Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, founded by H.A.W. Meyer, thirteenth edition; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953), p. 93.

come from God" and then goes on to mention "signs" may demonstrate that he represents either the Pharisees and the "rulers" of the Jews or that he speaks on behalf of the "many" in Jerusalem who believed when they saw Jesus signs (2:23). Because Nicodemus believes God was with Jesus does not denote faith in Jesus in the Christian sense but appears to present Jesus as a great prophet like Jeremiah.¹⁴ Nicodemus must progress in his understanding before he realizes the true significance of Jesus. According to John, Jesus is a teacher who is unrivaled as even this passage shall bring out.

Jesus answers the unuttered question of Nicodemus by affirming that there was something more important than signs and miracles. Jesus' solemn declaration to Nicodemus is *ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*. The meaning of *ἄνωθεν* has been a problem because it can mean either "from above" or "again, anew." It is possible that the term is purposely ambiguous here which would cause the verse to mean both "born from above" and "born again."¹⁵ The answer of Nicodemus seems to suggest that he understood it as meaning "born again." However, in view of the other uses of *ἄνωθεν* in John and the occurrence of *ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐγεννηθήσαν* in John 1:13, the translation "born from above" may be preferred in 3:3.¹⁶ One thing is sure: the passage deals with regeneration.

14. Cf. Jeremiah 1:19. C. K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John, p. 171.

15. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, op. cit., p. 76. C. H. Dodd, I.F.G., p. 303.

16. Walter Bauer, Das Johannes-evangelium, p. 48. F. Büchsel, " *ἄνωθεν* ", T.W.N.T., 1, 378.

The verb $\gammaεννᾶν$ employed here was considered in reference to 1:12 and is also found in 3:4a, 4b, 5, 7, and 8. It means "to beget" or literally "to become the father of." The thought of $\alphaνωθεν γεννηθαι$ is the procreation from above which is the spiritual begetting from God. In effect, Jesus is teaching this representative of the old order that Judaism will not develop gradually in the kingdom of God. On the contrary, in order "to see" the kingdom a radical inward change, a new birth was necessary. "To see the kingdom of God" in 3:3 is the equivalent of "to enter the kingdom of God" in 3:5.¹⁷ "To see" ($\ιδειν$) here means "to experience" (cf. 3:36).

To this Nicodemus replies, "How can a man be born when he is old?" The question which comes to the reader's mind is whether Nicodemus misunderstands what Jesus said because he was unfamiliar with the metaphor rebirth. After having made a study of the birth metaphor in the Judaic and Hellenistic spheres of thought during or near the first century A. D., it is noteworthy to apply this study in order to answer this question.¹⁸ The figure of birth was known in Judaism. When a Gentile entered into Judaism and became a full proselyte, he was said to be "like a child newly born" (b Yebamoth 48b). The Old Testament uses the idea of begetting

17. The expression $\betaασιλειᾱ τοῦ θεοῦ$ is found only in these two verses in the Fourth Gospel. Partially for this reason, it is possible that this passage in the Fourth Gospel has a relationship to Matthew 18:3 and Mark 10:15. Notice in Mark 10:17 the rich young man came to Jesus asking: "Good Teacher, what must I do to inherit eternal life?" Vide supra in the section entitled "Entering the Kingdom," Chapter III.

18. Vide supra in Chapters I and II. Notice also the discussion in connection with I Peter 1:3 in Chapter V.

in reference to the inauguration of the king where being begotten of God is thought of in the sense of adoption (Psalm 2:7). The usage of the birth metaphor occurs in the Qumran literature and Philo Judaeus speaks of a "second birth." In addition, the initiation into the mystery religions was said to effect a rebirth. From these manifold references to the figure of birth, it seems reasonable to suppose that this outstanding teacher, Nicodemus, knew of the rebirth idea.¹⁹ Primarily, what Nicodemus asks is how is it possible for this to be brought about in man.²⁰

Of course, causing a man to be born from above when he is old is a difficult miracle, but Jesus reaffirms the law of the new birth in more explicit terms by declaring: "Truly, truly, I say to you, unless one is born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God"

(ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος,
οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν

τοῦ Θεοῦ

,3:5). To be born by water and Spirit is

to be incorporated into the kingdom of God.

The words "of water and the Spirit" may refer to becoming a part of the Christian community in baptism.²¹ However, the words ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος have been variously interpreted. They can be either a correct representation by the Evangelist of the words of Jesus, or a blending of the author's own views or those of the Christian community with the original tradition, or even words which have been worked over by

19. Of course, Judaism did not have a doctrine of regeneration. Cf. O. Procksch, "Wiederkehr und Wiedergeburt," p. 15.

20. Cf. L. S. Thornton, The Common Life in the Body of Christ, pp. 214 f.

21. If this is the case, there may be a point of contact between John's concept of regeneration (3:5) and that of the Pastoral Epistles (Titus 3:5). Cf. C. K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John, p. 53.

a later redactor. Since there is no manuscript evidence to justify a deletion of $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota$, it must be considered as a part of the text. If the words are Johannine, there are several points of view which relate to this approach:²² (1) These words could be a Johannine gloss to bring the saying of Jesus into line with the belief of a later generation. (2) They may indicate that John assumes the outward rite, but stresses the spiritual side which gives it value. (3) The words may not be the contrast of two baptisms but of two types of birth. Other interpretations come into focus if John 3:5 is to be taken as the ipsissima verba of Jesus. In this case, there are three ways of understanding the words "of water and the Spirit": (1) They could have been intended to condemn reliance upon baptisms and ablutions as practiced by the Qumran community and other sects.²³ (2) They may be referring to the baptism Jesus' disciples practiced (John 4:2).²⁴ (3) They may be a reference to John's baptism.²⁵ If viewed according to the last interpretation the words $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota$ are more easily explained. Jesus has reference to John's baptism of repentance which includes a renunciation

22. W. F. Howard, The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation, (London: The Epworth Press, 1931), pp. 207-208. Cf. James Moffatt, The Theology of the Gospels, p. 197. John 3:5 is the only reference to baptism in John with the exception of a possible allusion in John 13:10.

23. Millar Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 339.

24. W. F. Howard, The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation, p. 206.

25. E. C. Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel, p. 214.

of the past by which men prepare for the kingdom of God. Basically the water symbolizes cleansing and the Spirit gives power. In John 3:5-8, the Holy Spirit is the source of the new birth.²⁶

To enter into the kingdom of God here means that the new birth is the condition of entering the kingdom of God here and now.²⁷ There must be a radical renewal effected by the Spirit which enables men to enter the kingdom of God. Therefore, the Christian believers pass into a new order of existence. Also, by entry into the kingdom of God, there is bestowed upon men the gift of sonship. They are now "sons" of God.

Since the Spirit is the life-giving power, the Spirit is the medium of rebirth. As such the Spirit is contrasted with the flesh: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." This means that men who have only experienced the physical birth live defeated lives. On the other hand, the ones who have been begotten of the Spirit have been brought into union with Christ and are branches of the true vine (15:1 ff.). Being born of the Spirit means also that God re-creates our wills.²⁸ It is necessary to undergo a rebirth in order to pass from the sphere of the flesh to the sphere of the Spirit.²⁹ Moreover,

26. V. Taylor, Forgiveness and Reconciliation, p. 153. C. H. Dodd, I.F.G., p. 224. That the Spirit is the important matter is shown because in 3:6 and 8 Spirit is mentioned alone. C.A.A. Scott [Christianity according to St. Paul, p. 121] considers John 3:5 a protest against the tendency to transfer to the rite of baptism the efficacy which belongs to the faith it expresses and confirms.

27. C. H. Dodd, I.F.G., p. 304.

28. E. Stauffer, New Testament Theology, p. 184.

29. C. H. Dodd, I.F.G., p. 304. However, this is not deification as in the mystery religions. Cf. C. K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John, pp. 73, 175.

by becoming members of the new order of existence they can no longer belong to the old order (3:6).

Lest Nicodemus think this new birth was an unnecessary teaching, Jesus tells him, "You need no longer wonder that I said to you, 'You must be born from above'." The expression *μὴ θαυμάσῃς* is perhaps idiomatic with an effect of impatience.³⁰ Since Nicodemus is a representative of the Jews, the rebirth is a real requirement on all men who would see the kingdom.³¹ This new birth cannot be achieved by man who is weak and subject to the natural processes; however, it is possible by the power of the Spirit. With this in mind, the comparison of the Spirit with the wind should be understood with reference to its mysterious power.³² Man may not understand how the work of the Spirit takes place, but he can see the effect of the Spirit. Thus *πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος* receives the communication of the divine life by the Spirit.³³ The fact that John can pass immediately from the use of *πνεῦμα* for "wind" to that of *πνεῦμα* for "Spirit" demonstrates that there was no final distinction between these uses, but, in this case, the wind is a familiar example of elusive power. Men cannot comprehend the work of the Spirit, but the Spirit is able to bring them into the new order of existence.

30. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, *op. cit.*, p. 518.

31. Notice the use of the plural *ὅμοιως* in 3:7 which shows that the thought was intended for all men.

32. The *πνεῦμα* means "Spirit" and "wind." Therefore, John 3:8 could also be translated: The Spirit breathes where he wills and you hear his voice but you do not know, etc. The passage actually means both and to accept just one of these translations would be incorrect. C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John*, p. 176. W. F. Howard, "The Gospel According to St. John," *I. B.*, VIII, 439.

33. B. F. Westcott [*The Epistles of St. John* (third edition; Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1892), p. 122] states that the perfect tense of *γεγεννημένος* which is used in John 3:6 and 8 probably shows that "the initial fact of the new life is regarded in its abiding power."

Still Nicodemus does not understand (or does not wish to understand) and asks, "How can these things come about?" To this Jesus responds, "Are you *ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ* and yet you do not understand these things?" Being an outstanding teacher, an expert on the Scriptures, and a representative of the people of God, Nicodemus should have been able to grasp this teaching about the operation of the Spirit because the Old Testament speaks of similar ideas.³⁴ Jesus, the master teacher, has tried to make these things as simple as possible but Nicodemus (a wide public is also included)³⁵ does not understand. How will they understand if He goes deeper into the discussion. At this point the conversation becomes a monologue which gives added explanation in reference to the discussion which has taken place.

The reason that men should accept Jesus' teaching as correct is that he is *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* and the *μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς* who descended from heaven in order to bring life and light to the world (3:13). When one understands this truth, the idea of Christian rebirth can also be understood. Jesus Christ descended from heaven and ascended again in order to make it possible for men to receive the new birth. John compares the "lifting up" of the serpent in the wilderness (Numbers 21:9) to the "lifting up" of Christ. Jesus is lifted up or exalted to glory by His crucifixion and resurrection and his "lifting up" results in healing for mankind.³⁶ In the Old Testament account, when

34. Cf. Ezekiel 18:31; 36:26; 37:1 ff. and the section entitled "Inward Renewal in the Future," Chapter II.

35. The use of the plural form *ἀμβάνετε* (3:11) shows that Nicodemus represents the Jews who had come to respect Jesus because of the signs He did, but had not come to have true faith in Him.

36. C. K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John, p. 179. Cf. John 12:33.

the dying man gazed at the serpent and thereby made his heart subservient to God, he was saved by God. In like manner, when men turn their thoughts to Jesus lifted up on the cross, it becomes the means through which men pass from death to life. The power through which men are born from above is found in the Son of Man "lifted up" upon the cross. Therefore, sonship is a gift from God which is made possible by Jesus alone.

Although Jesus made the new birth possible, it only becomes an actuality for those who have faith in Him (3:15-16). Since the Son creates life, the ones who believe in Him have eternal life.³⁷ By receiving the Logos (1:12), they will be granted eternal life (*ζωὴν αἰώνιον* , 3:15). The words "eternal life" mean the life of the age to come. The phrase is found in the Synoptic Gospels with this meaning.³⁸ In the Fourth Gospel the idea first appears in connection with the kingdom of God. The expression "eternal life" has an eschatological connotation as is stressed in the Synoptics, but in John it is also construed as a present gift of God.³⁹ Therefore, it is both a present blessing and a future anticipation. Those who are born of God are united with Christ and are brought into the realm of life. Therefore, the new birth has meaning for the present and for the future.

37. O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, p. 300.

38. Vide supra in the section entitled "Entering the Kingdom," Chapter III.

39. William Manson, Christ's View of the Kingdom of God (London: James Clarke & Co., Limited, 1918), p. 170.

II. THE FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN

Having considered the expression "born from God" in the Fourth Gospel, the discussion of this manner of expression continues with a study of its usage in the First Epistle of John. Interestingly enough this idea occurs in every chapter of this epistle except the first chapter. The birth from God is mentioned in I John 2:29; 3:9 f.; 4:7; 5:1 f., 4 and 18. The expression "the one who is begotten" is used as a new name for the children of God. (I John 3:1). In these passages, the "birth from God" clearly teaches the concept of regeneration because it is meant to be contrasted with the physical birth. In I John, regeneration is described as a completed fact, that is to say, John employs the metaphor of birth to describe those who have already been born of God, and are now living the regenerate life.

The description of what the regenerate person is like is first seen in I John 2:29:

If you know that he is righteous, you may be sure that every one who does right is born of him.

John begins with "you know that" (εἰδὴτε ὅτι) to point out a well-known fact that is generally accepted: "he [God] is righteous" (δικαίος). Then there follows a description of the result of a person having been begotten from this kind of heavenly Father. To John, one who has been begotten out of Him (ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγέννηται) is going to be a person who is practicing righteousness. These words are

1. H. Windisch, Die katholischen Briefe, p. 119. G. Lindeskog ["Förnyelse, nyskapelse, nyfödelse," pp. 23 f.] believes that the subject of the verse is Christ.

not so much a demand to do righteousness, but a guarantee that one who has received the divine birth will have righteousness as the compelling motive for the conduct of his whole life (cf. 2:4-5).² If they have been born of God, they have become already children of God (3:1). This means that they are brother and sister with Christ and in Christ (cf. Mark 3:35). So they will live in a way that demonstrates the reality of having received the gift of grace which makes them sons of God. It is true that the world will not understand them but they should be confident that they have been born of God.

Another result of the new birth is being made free from sin.

No one born of God commits sin; for God's nature abides in him, and he cannot sin because he is born of God. (I John 3:9).

A key point of this verse is to notice that $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\ \delta\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \delta\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota$. It is God's seed, that is, either the word of God or more likely, the Spirit,³ which remains in the man who has truly been begotten from God. After this, John makes what appears to be a dangerous statement: "he cannot sin because he has been begotten out of God." With this in mind, one can question the source of the "perfectionism" in this passage. The idea of perfection may have a relationship to Jewish eschatology which predicted the sinlessness of man in the Messianic aeon, and it was generally thought in primitive Christianity that the age had already begun. According to Bultmann, John is using the mythological language of Gnosticism in this verse.⁴ However, John does not appear to

2. Friedrich Büchsel, Die Johannesbriefe, p. 44.

3. C. H. Dodd, The Johannine Epistles, p. 81 and H. Windisch, Die katholischen Briefe, p. 122, respectively. However, B. F. Westcott [The Epistles of St. John, p. 107] holds that the "seed" is the germ of the new life out of which the nature of man will in due time be developed.

4. Theology of the New Testament, II, 77.

have a perfectionistic point of view because he writes in 1:8: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us." According to the keen insight of K. G. Kuhn,⁵ the perfectionism of John's writings is overcome by his concept of faith, even though he retains the terminology of perfectionism in I John 3:9. Men experience the new birth through the fact that they believe in Jesus as the savior sent from God. Faith is not acquired once and for all, but it is the overcoming of the world which has to be done again and again. Furthermore, the context of I John 1:8 is meant to demonstrate that the believer's "walking in the light" and his confession of sin are a paradoxical unity.⁶ Therefore, John 3:9 must be understood as implying a life which is no longer in habitual sin, but which is not yet perfect in salvation and purity. Still there were probably examples in which such a complete change took place upon conversion that they seemed outwardly to be free from sin. Jesus watches over the believer (I John 5:18). Moreover, when the one who is begotten again falls, he will be given the grace and strength to get up again.

In this verse of the epistle, John uses the designation

ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. In John 3 the participle is employed to speak of the ones having been born "from the Spirit." This perfect participle probably means that the person designated has been begotten from God at some point in the past and that the regeneration

5. "New Light on Temptation, Sin and Flesh in the New Testament," p. 106, n. 35.

6. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, II, 79.

continues to be effective in the present.⁷ The person has been born of God and he still remains a child of God.

The words "he has been begotten from God" (ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγέννηται) form a strong expression of the idea of rebirth. It could be asked what is the origin of this idea here. In addition to material which has already been presented in relation to this matter,⁸ several points could be made. The idea of rebirth was known in the mystery religions although the extant sources are not pre-Christian in date. Philo Judaeus used to speak of God "begetting" everything that He made. A more likely possibility of origin is to be found in the Old Testament. The metaphor of begetting is significant because it was interpreted Messianically among the Jews by the first century A. D. and because it is quoted four times in the New Testament.⁹ In addition, Israel is called God's child or son in the Old Testament.

For the more immediate origin of the idea of birth from God in the New Testament, Adolf von Harnack says it can be traced along three lines.¹⁰

(1) In "Western" reading of Luke 3:22, it is said of Jesus at baptism: "Thou art my son, today I have begotten you." The strength of this thought is seen when one remembers the New Testament view that what happens to Christ happens to His followers as well. (2) In Judaism, the teacher of

7. B. F. Westcott, The Epistles of St. John, p. 107.

8. Cf. Chapters I and II as well as discussions concerning I Peter 1:3 in Chapter V.

9. Cf. Büchsel and Rengstorff, op. cit., T.W.N.T., I, 669.

10. "Terminologie," p. 110.

the law was regarded as the procreator and father of his disciples (Babamezia II, 11). (3) Jesus stressed the idea of God as Father in a manner which was so close and personal that the disciples considered themselves as being His children in a strong sense of the expression.

For the origin of the birth metaphor in I John, it can be pointed out that Matthew 18:3 probably influenced John 3 and then the idea in I John is probably from the conversation between Jesus and Nicodemus.¹¹

The idea was not difficult to come by because in the Christian experience the whole man was transformed into a new man. The early Christian conviction that the Christians were the new Israel in the Messianic age also had a part in the development of the idea of the new birth.¹²

Another passage presents the thought that the new-born life demonstrates itself in love:

Beloved, let us love one another; for love is of God, and he who loves is born of God and knows God. (I John 4:7)

In a direct address which indicates the close relationship between John and the readers, he calls them "Beloved" in order to elicit their better thoughts and as a basis of appeal for mutual love. But it is necessary to realize at the same time that the source of the true nature of love is in God.¹³ Thus, "God is love" (4:8). Notice that it is $\pi\alpha\varsigma \circ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\acute{\omega}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon \gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\tau\alpha\iota \kappa\alpha\iota \gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota \tau\omicron\nu \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu$. This means that the effect of the new birth and

11. Cf. Adolf Bonhöffer, Epiktet und das Neue Testament, p. 97. James Moffatt, The Theology of the Gospels, p. 27.

12. F. Büchsel, Die Johannesbriefe, p. 48.

13. This is a direct denial of the general Hellenistic view which thinks of love as an impulse which begins in material order and moves to the spiritual. Cf. Amos N. Wilder, "The First, Second, and Third Epistles of John," I. B., XII, 279.

of the knowledge of God is manifested in a life of mutual love.¹⁴ The results of having been begotten of God are permanent and abiding. If a man receives the real revelation of God, he will give evidence of it by *ἀγάπη*.

John also emphasizes that the new birth is founded upon belief in Jesus as the Christ.

Every one who believes that Jesus is the Christ is a child of God, and every one who loves the parent loves the child.
(I John 5:1)

Instead of the words "is a child of God," the Greek has *ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγεννηται* so the passage has reference to "birth from God."

For his purpose here, John employs a general principle: "Every one who loves the father who begat him naturally loves the other children whom his father has begotten."¹⁵ In this case, John applies it to the fact that if one loves God he will love each person who is a brother in Christ. God is the Father who has begotten every Christian to a new life so the Christian man is *τὸν γεγεννημένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ*.¹⁶

When a man has been begotten of God, there is present the belief in Jesus as the One whom the whole of the Old Testament anticipated (cf. 3:23). Here the love towards one's fellow Christian and the belief in the messiahship of Jesus appear to be the outgrowth of the divine generation.

14. A. E. Brooke, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Johannine Epistles (I.C.C., Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912), p. 118.

15. A. E. Brooke, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Johannine Epistles, p. 127. Compare John 1:12-13.

16. The words can also refer to Jesus, but it appears to mean the Christian. Cf. I John 5:2. Hans Windisch, Die katholischen Briefe, p. 131.

The new birth enables the believer to overcome the world:

For whatever is born of God overcomes the world; and this is the victory that overcomes the world, our faith. (I John 5:4)

Love is the motivating power which enables the Christian to carry out the commandments of God. One reason they can carry out these commandments is that they are "not burdensome" (5:3).¹⁷ Jesus said, "My yoke is easy, and my burden is light" (Matthew 11:30). But even with the pressures of the pagan environs exerting its force upon the moral life of the Christian man, there is another reason he can carry out the commandments. This reason is that there has been bestowed upon them the new birth which includes God's "seed" abiding in them (3:9). This means that they have something in them as the begotten of God which is more powerful than the world.¹⁸ The gift of the divine life in the new birth makes possible the obedience to God's commands. The *κόσμος* here refers to everything that belongs to the world which is opposed to God.¹⁹ In John 16:33, Jesus said: "In the world you have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." Because Jesus overcame the world, He made it potentially possible for those who are united with Him to overcome every force of the world. Because the reborn men have been given a special power which comes from the endowment with the Spirit does not mean that they will be sinless.²⁰ It does mean that they are given the ability to act morally

17. Amos N. Wilder, "The First, Second, and Third Epistles of John," p. 291.

18. C. H. Dodd, The Johannine Epistles, p. 126.

19. B. F. Westcott, The Epistles of St. John, p. 179.

20. P. Gennrich, op. cit., p. 48.

and in a sense triumph over the world.

Then John adds that faith is the victory which vanquishes the world. By this he means the kind of faith which hears the Shepherd's voice and obeys (John 10:3-8). The faith which overcomes is a faith that listens to the Shepherd and finds the assurance not in itself, but in that which it believes.²¹ It is not dependent upon the circumstances in this world and for this very reason it cannot be shaken.

A final key to the secret of the Christian's inward power is given in I John 5:18:

We know that any one born of God does not sin, but He who was born of God keeps him, and the evil one does not touch him.

John begins with the words "we know that" which is a formula used to introduce a well-known fact that is generally accepted.²² The idea of 3:9a is repeated in this verse which brings up the thought of a Christian not sinning. As in 3:9 John appears to be using deterministic terminology but not adhering strictly to those terms. The evidence that he does not think in terms of perfectionism is seen in 1:8. Also, in 5:16 he has recognized that one's Christian "brother" may commit a sin which is not a mortal sin. Therefore, John realizes that those who are "begotten of God" are not perfect.

The power to resist sin was said in 3:9 to be the result of God's "seed" abiding in the believer, whereas here the reason is that "the one who was begotten out of God keeps him." The phrase $\delta \gamma \epsilon \nu \nu \eta \theta \epsilon \iota \varsigma \epsilon \kappa \tau \omicron \upsilon \theta \epsilon \omicron \upsilon$ is found only here in the New Testament.

21. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, II, 77. The word $\pi \iota \sigma \tau \iota \varsigma$ occurs only here in the Epistles of John.

22. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, op. cit., p. 558.

It appears to designate Jesus because this phrase could not be identified with the earlier phrase, "every one who has been begotten out of God," and because the adversary is mentioned just after this. According to Büchsel, the phrase designating Christ refers to the historical fact that Jesus was the One who was begotten from God.²³ The expression may also suggest a connection between the Son and those who were given the $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}$ to become children of God.²⁴ Of course, there is a difference between the sonship of believers and the Sonship of Jesus Christ.

The privilege of the divine birth is seen in that Christ, the One who was begotten, "keeps him" ($\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\hat{\imath}\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$).²⁵ In this case, Christ is the protector of the Christian who has been procreated from God. The Christian is in the charge of Christ Himself. For this reason, the evil one cannot harm the Christian--really cannot even touch him. These are the consequences of having been begotten from God.

23. Die Johannesbriefe, p. 46. Thus, the incarnation is a clue to the entire riddle of life.

24. B. F. Westcott, The Epistles of St. John, p. 194.

25. H. Windisch [Die katholischen Briefe, ad loc.] appears to be correct in preferring $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$ in this verse.

III. CONCLUSION

The new expression which the Johannine writings add to the terminology of regeneration is "born from God." The Epistle of James had used the term "to give birth to" and the First Epistle of Peter employed the word "rebeget." Now John speaks of being "born of God," "born of Him," "born of the Spirit," "born of water," and "born from above."

Through Christ God has made salvation possible for all men. It is pointed out in the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel that men may avail themselves of this salvation by acknowledging Jesus as the one who came as the "word" of God made flesh. To as many as did acknowledge him, he gave the "right to become ($\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$) children of God." Therefore, they entered a new order of existence. This new life was one of sonship to God. They are thus brought into a right relationship to God and a proper relationship with all other believers. They have become a part of the community of the new covenant. Men may appropriate the salvation "by believing on his name." This may be a reference to the confession one makes when he is baptized in the name of Christ and enters into the Body of Christ. A person becomes a child by being born of God. This birth does not have its origin in anything outside of the power of God. When one is born from God, he is granted a share in God's life. Just as Jesus was begotten of God so, by a radical change within, the believer is begotten of God. In this passage John thought of this new birth as taking place in the historical existence of those who believed and became the possession of God.

A slightly different approach is seen in the conversation with Nicodemus. Here the attitude is a stress upon the need for receiving the new birth before one could attain eternal life. Again, the idea of new birth is considered as something which could actually take place on the believer, but the passage has an atmosphere of mystery. Men cannot understand how the Spirit breathes upon man and creates new life in him. Men must be born from above if they can enter or see the kingdom of God. Both to be born again and to enter the kingdom of God point to the truth that the idea of adoption to sonship is connected with the thought of the new birth. To enter into sonship it is necessary to be born of God, which brings about a personal relationship of dependence upon God.

Jesus gives the demand to Nicodemus and to all men that they must be born of water and the Spirit. This may be a reference to Christian baptism or the thought may refer back to John the Baptist. If it refers to Christian baptism there may be a connection between the doctrine of John and the teaching of Titus 3:5. To John the kingdom of God was both present and future. The new birth also brings the gift of eternal life to those who genuinely believe. The birth from God as well as the entering of the kingdom, entering into sonship, and receiving the gift of eternal life are all dependent upon Jesus Christ who was "lifted up" that men might be healed.

In the First Epistle of John, the verb $\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ is used in the perfect tense to demonstrate that the believers were already begotten of God and that the new birth had a continuing effect upon their daily existence. The fact that believers had been born from God will manifest itself in a number of ways. The ones who have been begotten of God would

be men who are practicing righteousness. The new-born men would not continue to live in sin because those who continue in sin are of the devil. Since love is the supreme commandment and is of the nature of God, the reborn men will love their fellow Christians. If they love the heavenly Father they will love others who are born of God. Moreover, whatever is begotten of God vanquishes the world because his faith is not dependent upon the circumstances of this world, but is grounded in Jesus Christ. The secret of the continuing effect of the regeneration is expressed in two ways. On one occasion, John says that God's "seed," that is His Spirit, abides in them, and at another time, it is said that Christ, the One who was begotten of God, keeps them. Also, there is a relationship between Jesus, the One who was begotten of God, and the believers as ones who have been begotten of God. Being born of God is essentially something moral. According to the passages where John speaks of the new birth, it is thought of both as an initial experience and as a continuing state.

CHAPTER VII

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

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This study began with an investigation of the root meaning of "regeneration," which revealed that the fundamental idea of palingenesia is "beginning again." Taking this as our starting point an examination was made of those ideas in the ancient world which could have had some influence upon the New Testament concept. Since it was important not to isolate¹ one segment of thought and present this as the only possible background of regeneration--which has often been the case--this thesis sought to set forth a systematic treatment of regeneration and related ideas as they occur in the major circles of thought during or near the first century A. D.

It has long been recognized that the idea of regeneration was found in the Hellenistic sphere of thought. The Stoics spoke of the cyclical palingenesia of the world after periodic conflagrations. These philosophers also preached about the need for a spiritual renewal of individual men. An often-mentioned sphere in which the idea of rebirth occurs is the mystery religions. The idea of rebirth is associated with the initiation ceremonies of the mystery cults of Isis and Serapis, Cybele and Attis, as well as the Eleusinian mysteries. Moreover, the entrance into the

1. F. Büchsel, Die Johannesbriefe, p. 48.

super-earthly as taught in A Mithras Liturgy and in Hermeticism was thought of as a regeneration.

Another important area which contains the basic idea of regeneration is the Judaistic sphere of thought. The most significant background for some of the metaphors of regeneration in the New Testament is to be seen in the Old Testament. In the Old Testament, there is the concept of "return" or "restoration" which includes the thought of the resurrection of the ideal Israel and even carries over into the notion of restoration in the New Testament. The idea of the new creation of the world is stressed in the prophets, and there is a prominent metaphor of begetting in Psalm 2:7 which has a known influence upon the New Testament. Finally, the inward renewal of man in the future is clearly set forth in the Old Testament.

The Rabbinic literature does not use the figure of rebirth, but it does speak of the proselyte who is converted as being like a new-born child. Even Israel on Sinai is said to have become like a new-born child. The deliverance from distress as experienced by Moses, by the Israelites, and by the Messiah is expressed by the thoughts of new birth and new creation. Moreover, the pardon from sin on the Day of Atonement is described with the metaphor of creation, while the resurrection from the dead in Rabbinic thought is compared to creation in the womb.

Philo Judaeus does not feel the restrictions concerning the birth metaphor which were adhered to in the Rabbinic literature. Hence, he is willing to speak of God "begetting" everything He created, even the reasoning faculty of man. Then, according to Philo's writings, the result of the vision of God was a "second birth better than the first." In addition, the Qumran literature speaks of the new creation of man by the

bestowal of the spirit and knowledge. These scrolls also make use of the metaphor of birth to describe God begetting the Messiah or of the spiritual birth of the Messianic community through the author of the Hodayot. The last group of writings surveyed in the Judaic background was the Apocalyptic literature. This literature speaks of the eschatological new creation of man and stresses the new creation of the world in the future.

Just from a short survey of the Hellenistic and Judaic thoughts concerning the concept of regeneration, it can easily be seen that the metaphors relating to regeneration were abundant in the ancient world. There was no shortage for possible sources of influence. Because the ideas were so prevalent, it is unnecessary to say that any one area completely determined the approach found in the New Testament. Since Christianity was lineally descended from the religion of the Old Testament, it appears that the influence could have more easily come from this sphere. However, since the New Testament terms of regeneration are Greek, the Hellenistic influence cannot be eliminated.

With these things in mind, the discussion turns to the study of regeneration in the New Testament. And before embarking upon a summary of the thought of regeneration in the New Testament, the basic approach of this study of regeneration should be clearly stated. Even after defining regeneration as "beginning again," it is necessary to ask what are the fundamental expressions of the concept of regeneration in the New Testament. Speaking in a general sense, there are three basic metaphors which are used to express the concept of regeneration in the primitive Christian faith. They are the metaphors of birth, of new creation, and of spiritual resurrection. As the thoughts relating to regeneration are summarized,

it shall be seen that these three basic metaphors will give a continuity to the study of this concept in the New Testament.

I. THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

The Synoptic Gospels present the concept of regeneration in two basic forms. First, the Synoptics describe the regeneration of the world in Matthew 19:28. In this passage the term palingenesia is used to describe the final renovation of the world at the second coming of Christ. The meaning of this reference can be understood by going back to the Old Testament thought of restoration and also to the Apocalyptic ideas concerning the eschatological new creation of man and of the world.

This verse declares that in the Regeneration the Twelve will sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel. These words cause palingenesia to refer either to a universal restoration which is limited by certain national aspects or to imply that the new Israel, the Christian church, continues into the first part of the age to come. There may also be another implication in this passage. Just as the apocalyptic literature envisions the eschatological new creation of the individual, this Matthaean passage appears to mean that the rebirth of the world at the End will include the final rebirth of those individuals who have become heirs of this hope by rebirth here on earth.

Second, the Synoptics contain passages which imply individual regeneration in the present. The idea of newness in the Synoptic Gospels indirectly refers to an aspect of the concept of regeneration. This is true because "to make new" basically suggests re-creating. The coming of Jesus into the world was considered as the beginning of the new creation.

Whether it was expressed or not, it was probably thought that when one came into the new creation he was re-created. Certainly, in being the Son of man/second Adam, Jesus entered into the world to give birth to the new humanity. He meant to create the new humanity.

Jesus is the one who made it possible for men to have a new beginning spiritually. By hearing the gospel and responding, they are made sons of God. Even by His miracles Jesus demonstrated that the power of God was effective through Him and also that this power could be effective here and now upon those who believed in Him. In the words relating to the Lord's Supper Jesus is described as the One who establishes the new covenant. By His crucifixion and resurrection, Jesus brought about the new order of existence wherein there is fellowship between God and man now, and the hope of participating in the Messianic banquet at the end of this age.

Stronger emphasis upon the change which comes about when a person becomes a follower of Christ is evident in what the Synoptics affirm about entering the kingdom. In Mark 9 and 10 entering the kingdom is somewhat synonymous with entering life, being saved, and becoming a disciple of Jesus. Entering the kingdom here is in one sense a matter of present experience which comes by submitting to God's rule in faith and being brought into fellowship with God. The parables of the kingdom also point out that the kingdom of God has become an effective power in the world at the present. One who enters the kingdom is renewed and transformed.

The passage in the Synoptics which comes closest to the Johannine idiom of being born again is found in Matthew 18:3. It can be translated "unless you turn and become like children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven," but from the point of view of Aramaic background, it

can mean "unless you re-become like children." To re-become like children is very close to the basic meaning of regeneration. The passage refers to the fact that only the ones who can truly say Abba in childlike trust and intimacy are permitted to enter the kingdom of God. Entering the kingdom is to come to know God as Abba and to become a child or son of God. This saying appears to imply the need for regeneration in order to enter the kingdom. This is similar to what is explicitly said in the third chapter of John.

In the Parable of the Prodigal Son the idea of regeneration is taught by use of the metaphor of spiritual resurrection. The returning son is described as having found life again and as becoming alive spiritually.

It should be noticed that the figure of rebirth is used in the term palingenesia, that the figure of new creation is presented in the concept of newness, and that that of spiritual resurrection is found in the Parable of the Prodigal Son. Therefore, the Synoptics use the three basic metaphors of regeneration. These form the foundation for later expression of the concept of regeneration in other areas of the New Testament.

II. THE PAULINE AND DEUTERO-PAULINE LITERATURE

Paul makes use of several very strong expressions to present his idea of regeneration. To him, beginning again spiritually was to enter into "life." This new life does not come at the first birth of man, but it only becomes available to man when he submits to God. Then, God grants him the gift of new life. As the second Adam, Christ is the bringer of life. The resurrection of Jesus makes possible the indwelling of the life of Jesus in the believer.

One of the strongest expressions of Paul's concept of regeneration occurs in the figure of spiritual resurrection. With an analogy to the stages of baptism, the Apostle describes what takes place when one becomes a Christian. In his discussion of the metaphor, Paul makes it clear that the believer actually shares in Christ's death and resurrection by dying to sin and rising in order to begin living "in Christ" in the present existence.

At the center of his concept of union with Christ, Paul thinks of his faith in Christ as understood with particular intimacy and fervor. According to the Apostle's Christ-mysticism, the believer becomes one with Christ. By baptism the believer dies and rises with Christ so as to be made a member of the corporate body of Christ.

In addition to the metaphor of spiritual resurrection another very important concept in Paul is his teaching of the new creation. In connection with this Paul speaks of the thoroughgoing renovation which makes the believer a "new man." This includes the putting on of the Second Adam. Paul perhaps rises to his greatest height in his terminology of regeneration by employing the expression kainē ktisis. This designation denotes first the radical transformation of those who are in Christ. The secondary connotation in the idea of kainē ktisis is that it refers to the "new creation" of man and the universe at the End. This suggests a similarity with the thought of Matthew 19:28.

But Paul does not say that the initial experience of new creation is all important without any need for further renewal. Paul stresses that there is a daily being made new again by the power of the Spirit. The

continuing renewal is for those who have been adopted to sonship. Therefore, Paul thinks of regeneration as an initial transformation, as a daily renewal, and as an anticipation of the new creation of the world in the second coming of Christ.

In addition, the Apostle employs some special linguistic forms which appear to demonstrate that he could think of entering the new life as a birth. In keeping with this, either Paul or a disciple of Paul wrote Titus 3:5 which declares that the believers are saved through the washing of palingenesia and the renewal of the Holy Spirit. This means that the believers are radically changed to enter into the life of the age to come. It also means that the Spirit will continue to renew them daily in their inner self. These are the varied expressions of Paul's concept of regeneration.

III. THE GENERAL EPISTLES

Although Paul--if he did not write Titus 3:5--does not explicitly employ the figure of rebirth to describe the initial transformation of the believer, the authors of the General Epistles and the Johannine writings make abundant use of the metaphor of birth. The Epistle of James selects the term "to give birth to" in order to express that God is the author of regeneration. The new birth is brought about by means of the "word of truth," the gospel. They have been made "a kind of fruits of his creatures." This means that they are chronologically first to enter the new order of existence and receive a ^{pre-eminent} permanent place among His creatures. James desires that all men might receive the "word," and anticipates the renewal of all creation.

In the First Epistle of Peter, the expression "to re-beget" occurs to speak of regeneration. Here again the stress is on God as the originator of this transformation. It is the resurrection of Christ which makes it possible for the believers to be re-begotten spiritually. In this way, they come to share His eternal life and are granted a "living hope." The aim of their hope was a Christian inheritance which is both a settled possession and that which they should one day enter in fulness. By the power of God they are kept for the final deliverance at the End.

In James the believers are born through the "word of truth," while regeneration in I Peter is "not of corruptible, but of the incorruptible seed." Both of these expressions mean the word of God. When the believers hear and respond to the "word," they are re-begotten with the life of God in them and receive the privilege of sonship. However, just as in Paul there are obligations which the new man is to fulfill. The one which is stressed here is brotherly love to their fellow Christians. Being re-begotten in I Peter changes the everyday existence of the believers. They must put off the baseness of their former lives and eagerly desire for the nourishment of the word of God. Therefore, the Christian life is one of growth and looks forward to the final inheritance in the Regeneration when the Son of man shall come again.

IV. THE JOHANNINE WRITINGS

The final formulation of the idea of regeneration is found in the Johannine writings. The strength of the Johannine expression is based upon its indication of the source of the new birth. John says the believers are "born from God." The equivalent which John uses for this one basic

expression are "born of Him," "born of water and the Spirit," and "born from above."

In the Prologue, it is affirmed that God has provided salvation through Christ for mankind. As many as acknowledge Jesus as the "word" of God to them is given the right to become children of God. Thereby, they enter into the "new world," are made sons of God, and begin a right relationship to God and man. By "believing on his name," they appropriate here and now the salvation provided by God. The believers are baptized in the name of Christ and become members of the Body of Christ. In order to become a true child of God they must be born from the will and power of God, not from any origin like human birth. As the figure implies they are granted a share in God's life and become God's possession. In an analogy to, but not identical with, the fact that Jesus is begotten of God the believers are begotten of God by a thoroughgoing, inward transformation.

While the Prologue implies that the new birth has already taken place for those who have believed, the third chapter of John speaks of the demand for regeneration in order to have the privilege of entering the kingdom. Even today men do not understand all of the mystery of rebirth but they must respond to the "word" in faith knowing that what is impossible with men is possible with God. Again, as in Paul and the Synoptics, respectively, the ideas of sonship and kingdom are closely related to the concept of regeneration. To be born of God is to be able to "see" the kingdom of God and to enter into sonship, which means a personal relationship of dependence on God. Jesus demands that Nicodemus and all men be born "of water and the Spirit." These words possibly show

a connection between the doctrine of regeneration in John and in Titus 3:5. The birth from God and the consequent gift of eternal life are dependent upon Jesus Christ as the One who was "lifted up" that men might receive salvation.

A slightly different attitude is evident in the First Epistle of John. Using the perfect tense, John designates the believers as the ones who have already been begotten of God and whose divine birth continues to have an effect upon their daily existence. The fact that they are already reborn men will manifest itself in practicing righteousness, in no longer continuing to live in sin, in loving their fellow Christians as an outgrowth of their love of God, and in overcoming the world through a faith grounded on the unshakable rock, Jesus Christ. The reason that the regenerate men are able to live this kind of life is that the "seed" of God abides in them and Christ "keeps" them. Therefore, the new birth in John is understood both as an initial experience and as a continuing existence.

From this study of the concept of regeneration, it has become obvious that there are a number of terms or expressions which denote or imply the idea of regeneration. Out of these terms there are three basic metaphors which sum up the main spheres of this concept. Then, there is one fundamental thought which is found throughout the various expressions. This fundamental thought is "beginning again." And from all of the varied expressions of this one basic thought it is abundantly evident from this thesis that the concept of regeneration is one of the outstanding soteriological ideas in the New Testament.

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